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NUMISMATA ORIENTALIA
ILLUSTRATA.

THE

ORIENTAL COINS,

ANCIENT AND MODERN,

OF HIS

COLLECTION,

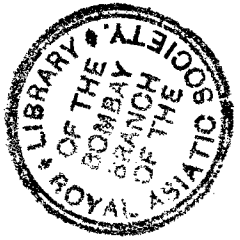
DESCRIBED

AND

HISTORICALLY ILLUSTRATED

BY

WILLIAM MARSDEN, F. R. S. &c. &c.



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WITH NUMEROUS PLATES,

FROM DRAWINGS MADE UNDER HIS INSPECTION.

PART I.

LONDON:
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INTRODUCTION.

THE Numismatic Collection described in the following work consists exclusively of oriental coins, or such as are impressed with oriental characters, comprehending not only those of Asia generally, but also of the Mahometan kingdoms and states formerly or at present existing in Africa and Europe. Of these the Cufic or early Arabian series constitute the most interesting portion, and as they formed the basis of the collection, a detail of the circumstances under which this antiquarian treasure came into my possession, will, I trust, be thought of some importance to numismatic history, and prove acceptable to those who cultivate oriental literature. Nature and origin of the Collection.

The coins comprehended under this denomination, being those of the khalifs, both eastern and western, as well as of the dynasties which arose upon the dissolution of the original mussulman empire, belonged chiefly to the cabinet of the late Sir Robert Ainslie, who resided many years at Constantinople, as the ambassador of his Britannic Majesty. This gentleman, who, with laudable zeal, availed himself of the advantages afforded by his situation to recover from the ruins of ancient grandeur whatever presented itself as curious in art or literature, was so fortunate as to have an opportunity of saving from dispersion, and eventually from the crucible, a part at least, if not the whole, of an assemblage of coins formed in the East by an accomplished traveller, whose untimely death has been lamented throughout Europe, as a loss to the learned and the scientific world. What relates to this event I shall give in Sir Robert's own words, written in answer to my inquiries as to the means he employed

to

to guard against imposition in purchases of this nature, unacquainted as he ingenuously avows himself to have been, with any oriental language. "L'Abbé Beauchamp, he says, a man of letters and uncommon ability, well versed in ancient literature, after many years residence at Rome, and travelling in Turkey, Arabia, and some part of Persia, was through the influence of the French government named titular Bishop of Bagdad, and under M. de Sartines, ministre de la Marine, appointed Consul-general at that place. After he had resided there about two years, the Bishop, his secretary, and two French domestics, were carried off by the plague in the year 1779 or 1780; when his effects were supposed to have been plundered by his Armenian servants or interpreters: at least nothing of value, excepting his correspondence, was found by a French agent dispatched from Smyrna upon the news of his death, to whom I applied for a preference in the purchase of his coins, reported to be particularly interesting. It was afterwards, however, that by means of an Armenian merchant at Bagdad I procured a considerable number, most probably of the late Bishop's collecting, together with a few Persian engraved stones, and some other works of art. Among the coins were many Parthian, Cufic, Persian, and old Turkish, not unfrequently found in the environs of Bagdad, Kerkat, Maradine, and other places on the frontier of Turkey and Persia. From thence were the greater part of the Cufic coins now in Mr. Marsden's Collection: the rest came from different parts of Asia, where they were procured by my agents, indiscriminately with Greek and Roman, from the people who discovered them, by the payment of a premium beyond their intrinsic value, which prevented their being melted."

Upon the return of Sir Robert Ainslie to England, at an advanced period of life, he adopted the resolution of parting with the produce of his indefatigable researches, and accordingly disposed of his fine Greek and Roman medals to two distinguished collectors;

collectors;[1] but the Cufic were foreign to the scope of their classical pursuit, which embraced nothing *barbarous*, and they declined to take any concern with what they did not profess to understand. In consequence of this rejection the latter became the property of an eminent and respectable dealer in coins,[2] in whose hands they had remained for a considerable time, veiled in the obscurity of a character little known even to the generality of oriental scholars, when at length (in the year 1805) the opportunity of making the acquisition was suggested to me by the late Mr. Jonas Dryander (no less conversant with some branches of numismatics than he was with bibliography and botany), and although imperfectly qualified at the time to appreciate their real importance or value, I did not hesitate to make the purchase at the price demanded.

Purchase of the Cufic part.

I was not then aware, nor probably were any of the parties concerned in the transaction, that the existence of these Cufic coins, as forming a cabinet, had been made known to the learned world, eleven years before, by Professor Tychsen, of Rostoch. In his useful, and to those who begin to study the subject, indispensable work, intitled, 'Introductio in rem numariam Muhammedanorum,' he enumerates the 'Numophylacia Arabica' to be found in the different countries of Europe, and concludes the list with the following respectable notice of that which has since come into my possession: "Constantinopoli exc. Robertus Ainslie Regis M. Britan. in Aula Osmanica Orator, numis Orientalium conquirendis summam curam ac diligentiam adhibens, immensas suas jamjam acquisitas opes ab erudito Italo Domenico Sestini digestas ac explicatas luci publicæ, ut fama venit, expositurus est."

Notice of Ainslican Collection by O. G. Tychsen.

From its being thus publicly announced by so competent an authority, an expectation, apparently well grounded, must of course have been raised, that the rich oriental acquisitions of the

(1) Lord Northwick and Mr. Payne Knight. (2) The late Mr. G. Miles.

the ambassador were to be arranged and elucidated by the labours of an eminent antiquary and medallist, whom, it appears, Sir Robert had employed for the purpose of making descriptive catalogues, and who, in fact, in the year 1789, published an account of some of his Greek medals and Armenian coins, under the title of 'Lettere e Dissertazioni numismatiche sopra alcune medaglie della Collezione Ainslieana.' But with respect to the Cufic and others with Arabic inscriptions, the expectation has certainly not been fulfilled, nor is there any document to justify the belief that, if ever attempted, an effective progress was made in such a work; and even the intention of executing it may have been defeated by the change of residence or other circumstances affecting the liberal-minded possessor, without presuming any want of zeal or diligence on the part of his learned associate, who may naturally be supposed to have directed his studies, in the first instance, to those objects which he best understood. However this may have been, the coins were delivered to me in a state of entire confusion, not only unaccompanied by any catalogue or professed description, but even the scanty writings upon the envelopes which inclosed a portion of them were mostly imperfect and incorrect. Such as they are I have thought it right to preserve them, and although now detached from the specimens to which they belonged, they carry with them internal evidence of the want of requisite acquaintance with oriental history and literature in the person (whoever he may have been) by whom they were so inscribed, and consequently of their inutility to me. Care, indeed, was necessary to avoid being misled by their errors.(1)

At

(1) A few of the Ottoman or Turkish were in some degree an exception to this remark. In a letter from Sir R. A. of 31st March 1806, accompanying the coins of this class, which were the subject of a distinct purchase, he says: "Those under the nos. 1. to 10. were described by the Abate Sestini, many years in my family at Constantinople. The rest are selected from the ancient coins procured from different parts of the Ottoman empire. I sincerely wish they may prove useful

At the same time that, in vindicating the originality of my own labours, I am compelled to advert to the defect of oriental knowledge in others, it is proper I should avow that at the period of my becoming possessed of the collection I had never made any attempt to read the Cufic character, which is well known to differ considerably from the *Niskhi* or modern Arabic of books, not only in the form of several letters, but more especially in wanting the diacritical points which serve to distinguish those which resemble each other, as well as the supplementary vowels and other orthographical marks. But the difficulties of this nature were to be overcome by attentive application, and were found to vanish by degrees in the course of that rigid scrutiny which numberless obscurities in the legends of the coins demanded, or to subsist only where the false taste of the artists led them to exchange the simplicity prevailing in the early specimens, for mistaken ornament. It is also incumbent upon me to mention that in the prosecution of my early studies I derived material assistance from the learned experience of my friend and relative, Mr. Wilkins, to whose discriminating talent I have had recourse in all cases of intricate combination and doubtful reading. In a subsequent part of the work, where the Persian rythmical inscriptions, and still more where those in the *nagri* character become the subject, I shall have occasion to acknowledge more specific obligation.

Since my acquisition of the original part of the collection, in the

Additions made to the Cufic part.

useful to your superb collection." The description here spoken of referred only to what was written on the covers, expressing the dates and names of the Turkish sultans by whom the coins were struck, and which can rarely be mistaken. Not one historical or critical remark any where appeared. The following, copied *literatim* from the labels of other classes, will serve as an example of the descriptions in general: '*Schach, Tauris*;'—'*Schamaghi, Sœrb*;'—*Emir el-Mumin-Gia-el-Mukim Lidin-illah. El-Imam Muessul Litubalik* (nome del sultans) *El Illah el-Mussafar ualàh*;—*La illa-illah Badeku lascerik elahu Muhamedin resul-illah. El Muazin Vesir il-haké Musafar Aledin-illah. Zuribé Haz'el dinar sené arba-vekasim* 54;—*El Musnip Sunusé-Asani-Emir el Muminin. Zarb-Zalahma*;—*El sultan Muhamud Chan Kartimur icciep. La illa illah* (Credo che sia un abassi).'—But enough has been presented to the reader to shew how entirely destitute of meaning were these pretended explanations.

the manner above related, opportunities have occurred of increasing it with some scarce Cufic, as well as other coins; particularly a *dirhem* of the year 90 of the *hejrah* (the third in the series), and a *dinar* of 92. By various purchases and the friendly contributions of many individuals to whom my pursuit became known, I have been enabled to form the other very extensive portions, including the coins of Hindustan, from an early period and under various dynasties, together with those of the peninsula of India, as well as of Nepal, Asam, Bengal, and countries lying eastward of the Ganges and Barhamputra: accessions, that give the whole a claim to be considered as a general Oriental Collection; the first of the kind that has been attempted in England, upon any systematic plan, although in the British Museum, the Hunterian Museum of Glasgow, and the Museum of the East India Company, a vast number of curious and valuable specimens are preserved. With respect to variety, indeed, and some other essential properties, although numerically inferior,(1) it may venture to stand in competition with the Imperial and Royal cabinets of the continent of Europe, enriched as those of the North have been with stores of Cufic silver (chiefly *dirhems* of the Samanian dynasty) dug up at different times and in various places on the shores of the Baltic, whither they are supposed to have been carried by Mahometan or other traders, in the middle ages, along with the merchandize of the East. The greatest number of these belong to the cabinet of the Royal Academy of Stockholm, the depository likewise of the most ancient specimen of Cufic silver money known to exist; and which have been described by Clewberg (1755), Aurivillius (1775), and

Other large portions added, especially Indian.

(1) The numerical amount of coins in a collection is but an imperfect test of its actual importance. It may be doubted, indeed, how far specimens differing only in the year of the date or name of the place where coined, are intitled to distinct numbers. In this respect, although following the example of my predecessors, I may have occasionally erred; but on the other hand, many, especially in the class of Turkish, are made to fall under one number, and not a few of gold and silver, with quantities of copper, have, from their want of sufficient peculiarity, remained unenumerated.

and more recently by Hallenberg (1800-2), with excellent engravings. The other and more general oriental collections that have been made known to the world by competent persons, are, the Borgian, heretofore of Velitri, near Rome, but now deposited at Naples, by Adler, in two separate works; the Nanian of Venice, by Simone Assemani; the Gottingen, by Professor T. C. Tychsen; and the Pototian of Casan, as well as the coins of certain Petropolitan cabinets, by Professor C. M. Fraehn, who is understood to be forming a catalogue of the oriental numismatic treasures of the Imperial collection.

Published descriptions of other collections.

Long subsequently to the time at which the foregoing cursory observations on the labours of those who have preceded me were committed to writing, and when the descriptive account of my own collection had been in great measure prepared, I had the satisfaction to procure (at the close of the year 1821) the valuable and to me peculiarly interesting work, intitled 'Monete Cufiche dell' I. R. Museo di Milano.' The rich contents of that museum are indeed of the first importance to oriental numismatics, and they are now made known to the world in a style highly creditable to the good taste and literary zeal of Sign. Gaetano Cattaneo, the director of the establishment and editor of the work; to the learning and sound discernment of the Conte Castiglioni, by whom the coins have been so ably described; and to the munificence of the august owner. It is with a due feeling of diffidence that I have endeavoured to render the present performance worthy, in point of execution, of being placed by its side. The judicious illustrations (anticipating, in respect to the period of publication, my own conjectures) of so many specimens similar in the two cabinets, but partially defective in both, have occasioned me to revise with care the readings I had adopted, and where I found the authority of the learned orientalist opposed to the view I had myself taken, I have, in addition to the remarks as they stood, either assigned my reasons for

adhering to the latter, or, upon conviction, expressed my acquiescence in the former.

It now remains to advert to circumstances more particularly connected with the composition of the work For the method I have judged it best to adopt, of giving the legends of the coins and the short descriptions of figures or devices which they happen to display, in the Latin language rather than in English, my inducements were: that by preserving a conformity with most of the numismatic works already published, especially those of Adler and the two Tychsens, a comparison might be made with greater readiness and precision, than if the readings were given in different languages, unlike in their forms of construction; that the significant brevity of Latin expression accords better with the compressed style of inscriptions; and lastly, I profess to have been influenced by the feeling, that the incessant but unavoidable repetition of the name and attributes of the Deity, with which all mussulman writings abound, would be less offensive to the eye of the English reader in any other than his own vernacular idiom.

Motives for employing the Latin language for legends.

Judging it to have the effect rather of confusing the version of the inscriptions than of affording any necessary or useful information, I have not made a practice of explaining (as others have done) the Arabic terms which compose the names and titles of the several khalifs, the princes of the dynasties, or of their ministers. Where, indeed, such have been bestowed or assumed on account of peculiar qualities or specific acts, explanations of that nature may serve to throw a light upon the history of the times, but when, as is most usually the case, they have been adopted at the commencement of a reign, or in an early stage of the life of an individual, without any reference to his personal character, the interruption of a sentence for their translation seems to be worse than superfluous.

Execution of the engravings.

Minute accuracy in the delineation and engraving of the coins being

being of the most essential importance to the work, no pains have been spared to render them as free from error as the graphic art will admit. The ingenious and diligent artist by whom the drawings were made and the plates engraved, does not possess any knowledge whatever of the Arabic or Nagri character. His object is confined to copying with exactness what is set before him, and in his scrupulous fidelity I have reason to place the utmost confidence; but as deviations almost insensible, and such as no degree of mechanical skill (especially when exercised upon half obliterated inscriptions) can entirely avoid, may have the effect of varying the sense, a rigid examination, correction, and revision have been indispensable on my part. Still, however, it becomes necessary to claim indulgence for mistakes and oversights; but it will be allowed that under these circumstances there is more security for the genuineness of the copy and its near approach to a *fac simile*, than if the whole of the graphic labour were to be executed by the person whose province it is to describe the coins, and whose eye and hand might, unintentionally, be too much influenced by his opinions.

OF THE COINAGE UNDER THE FIRST KHALIFS.

A difference of opinion is found to prevail amongst Arabian writers as to the period at which the mussulmans first established a national coinage, with the view of superseding the currency of Greek or Byzantine and Persian gold and silver money, which until then had exclusively circulated throughout their newly established empire. By *Makrizi*, who composed a special treatise on the subject, in the former part of the fifteenth century, it is asserted, that so early as the year 18 of the *hejrah* (A.D. 638), the khalif *Omar* caused money to be coined on the Persian model, being the first after the introduction of the true faith; but that *Abd-allah ben Zobeir* (who opposed the succession of *Yezíd* and

and assumed at *Medînah* and *Mekka* the title of khalif) was the first by whom *round dirhems* were struck, about the year 61 (680); those which preceded being rude and imperfectly formed.(1) *Al-Makin, Soïuti, Ibn Kotaiba*, and others, on the contrary, inform us that the earliest mussulman coinage appeared during the khalifat of *Abd-al-malek*, in the year of the *hejrah* 76 (695), through the agency of an *amîr* or military commander, named *Al-Hejâj;* and of these two discordant accounts the latter seems the more probable and consistent, inasmuch as Makrizi, who also details the circumstances of *Abd-al-malek's* coinage, which, he says, was executed by a Jewish artist, renders his own authority questionable, by stating that they were impressed with human figures,(2) which we know to be erroneous, whatever might have been the case with respect to the supposed anterior *dirhems* of the khalif *Omar*.(3) Until Cufic coins, therefore, of a date more ancient than 76 shall be discovered, we are justified in assigning their first systematic introduction to *Abd-al-malek's* reign.

To *Al-Hejâj* the merit of this great national improvement is generally attributed; but as the earliest Cufic coin that expresses the name of the place where it was struck, has distinctly that of Damascus,

(1) "Alors (en la 18me. année de l'hegire) Omar fit frapper des dirhems aux mêmes empreintes qui étoient en usage du temps des Cosroës (Sassanides), et de la même forme." "Lorsque l'émir des fidèlles Abdallah ben Zobeïr se declara khalife à la Mecque, il fit frapper des dirhems rondes; il fut le premier qui fit arrondir les dirhems: ceux que l'on avoit fabriqués jusqu'à lui étoient applatis et grossièrement executés." Traité des Monnoies Musulmanes, traduit de l'Arabe de Makrizi, par A. I. S. de Sacy, Paris 1797, 8vo. p. 13. 16.

(2) "Abdalmélik ben-Mervan étant demeuré seul maître de l'empire .... prit des informations sur l'état des monnoies, des poids et de mesures. En l'an de l'hégire 76, il fit frapper des dinars et des dirhems ..... Il écrivit aussi à Alhadjadj, qui étoit alors dans l'Irak, de faire frapper de pareilles espèces dans cette province, ce qu'il fit. Ces monnoies étant parvenues à Médine, où il restoit encore quelques-uns des compagnons du prophête, ils n'en desapprouvèrent que les empreintes; car elles portoient une figure." P. 17. 18.

(3) In the sequel of this work (p. 292) will be found some observations on the subject of a class of equivocal copper coins, with figures (having mussulman inscriptions together with Christian emblems), which the learned illustrator of the Milan collection supposes to be those to which Makrizi's text applies. See Monete Cufiche: Osservazioni preliminari, p. LVIII.

Damascus, with the date of 79, we must presume the original mint to have been established in that city, the first regular capital of the empire, and as the principal seat of his extensive government or viceroyalty was *Irak*, to which he was appointed in 75, and where he built the city of *Wâset*, which became so celebrated for its coinage, in 83, we can no otherwise explain the grounds of the prevailing opinion than by assuming, that his paramount influence was exercised at the court and directed the councils of his master. Certain it is that the dies for all the dirhems of this distinguished class, whether struck at Damascus, at *Wâset*, or at other places (as we shall see hereafter) under the government of *Al-Hejâj*, were engraved by the same skilful hand.(1) It is at the same time remarkable, that the workmanship of the gold coinage of that period is far less elegant, although indubitably the produce of the metropolitan mint.

The circumstances that led to this important alteration in the currency of the Mahometan empire, are detailed in the following manner by the Arabian writers. The khalif, they say, having adhered to the practice of commencing his epistles addressed to the Greek emperor, with the mussulman formulary sentence, declaring the Unity of the Godhead and the ministry of the Prophet, the Christian monarch took offence at what appeared to him an insult, and threatened that if it were persisted in, he should retaliate by introducing into the inscriptions on his coinage, with the view to its being circulated throughout the dominions of the former, words not likely to be acceptable to the professors of islaemism. This impolitic contention produced the effect that might have been expected, and *Abd-al-malek* determined

(1) "Ce fut un Juif de Taïma, nommé Somair, qui fut chargé de la fabrication de ces dirhems; en conséquence on leur donna son nom, et ils furent nommé dirhem Somairis. Abdalmélik envoya ce type à Alhadjadj, et Alhadjadj l'envoya dans les différentes provinces, afin qu'on s'en servît pour fabriquer des dirhems." Traité des Monnoies, p. 20. "Aboulzeïad dit: 'Abdalmélik ben Mervan ordonna à Alhadjadj de faire frâpper des dirhems dans l'Irak, ce qu'il fit en l'an 74.' Suivant Almadani ce fut à la fin de l'an 75 qu'Alhadjadj fit frapper des dirhems, et en l'année 76 il envoya l'ordre d'en frapper dans les différens districts de son gouvernement." P. 73.

mined upon rendering his country independent of the supplies of Byzantine and other foreign money, by coining gold and silver for himself, which should serve at the same time to blazon the creed of the Faithful. It happened, however, that this patriotic measure had the fate of exciting murmurs amongst the devouter classes of his own subjects, who were scandalized at the abomination of allowing the sacred name of *Allah* to be profaned by the contact of impure hands.(1)

With regard to the specific legends which, from the numerous specimens preserved in our cabinets, we know to belong to these coins of the first race of khalifs, it cannot be observed without surprise how imperfectly they seem to have been known to the native writers of subsequent times, not one of whom describes them with correctness; and as they also pronounce the metal to be defective in purity, and the workmanship to be rude, although superior in both respects to the more modern coinage of the dynasties under which they lived, we must conclude that the pieces themselves, which even in their days were matter of antiquity, had not been actually inspected by them, or were described from memory.(2)

In consequence of local customs and alterations from political causes, the system of Arabian or Syrian weights, as applied to the coinage, is attended with intricacy approaching to confusion. To the learned labours of Prof. O. G. Tychsen and the Baron Silvestre de Sacy we are indebted for translations of, and valuable comments (by the latter) on the text of Makrizi, whose treatise

(1) "Les karis (c'est-à-dire lecteurs de l'Alkoran) dirent alors: 'Que Dieu extermine Alhadjadj! à quoi a-t-il exposé les hommes! Maintenant les hommes en état d'impurité, &c. manieront ces pièces'; car auparavant la légende des dirhems étoit en Persan." P. 25.

(2) "Sur un des côtés des dirhems il fit mettre cette légende: 'Il n'y a qu'un Dieu,' et sur l'autre: il n'y a point d'autre Dieu que Dieu." P. 20. But these are not the exact terms of the symbol, nor is it so divided either upon dinars or dirhems; and no notice is taken of the text which expresses the Eternity of the Deity, and is characteristic of the coins of the *Ommiah* race of Khalifs. Again Makrizi says: "Suivant un autre récit ce fut Alhadjadj qui fit mettre sur les dirhems cette légende: 'Dis, il n'y a que lui de Dieu." No sentence of that kind, however, appears on the coins of *Wâset*, nor of any other place under the jurisdiction of *Al-Hajâj*, that have been preserved to our time.

treatise on the subject (as well as that on the coinage itself, already mentioned) were composed by order of his prince, one of the Circassian Mamluks of Egypt, about the year 820 of the hejrah (1417).[1] To these works it will be sufficient to refer the reader who wishes to pursue the investigation, and I shall only observe that the result states the proportional weight of the dînar or gold coin, to that of the dirhem or silver, to be as 10 to 7; but no criterion is furnished for estimating the mussulman weights by a comparison with others to us more generally known; as the reference to the supposed natural uniformity, in size and weight, of barley-corns or other vegetable grains is vague and unsatisfactory.[2] Recourse must therefore be had to the coins themselves, where they are in good preservation. By examining such, we find the average weight of the early dinars to be 65.6, and of the dirhems 45 grains Troy; which approaches nearly to, although it is not exactly the ratio of 10 to 7, inasmuch as the former number multiplied by 7 gives 459.2, and the latter, by 10, gives only 450; the deficiency being on the side of the silver coin. On the comparison of a greater number of specimens, the approximation might perhaps be nearer. From hence also we see that the Arabian barley-corn of a medium size is to our grain Troy, as 65.6 to 72, according to the average of the dinars, or as 45 to 50.4, according to that of the dirhems, and upon the average of both metals, as 55.3 to 61.2.

The medium value of the dinar, in English money of the present day, appears to have been about ten shillings and eightpence, and of the dirhem, something under sixpence.

(1) "Al-Makrizi historia Monetæ Arabicæ, e codice Escorialensi, nunc primum edita, versa et illustrata, ab O.G.T. Rostochii 1797, 8vo." Traité des monnoies musulmanes, traduit de l'Arabe de Makrizi, par A. I. S. de S. Paris (1797) 8vo. Traité des poids et des mesures légales des musulmans; traduit de l'Arabe de Makrizi, par A. I. S. de S. Paris (1779), 8vo."

(2) "Par *habba* il faut entendre des grains d'orge d'une moyenne grosseur, dont on n'a pas ôté la pellicule, mais dont on a coupé les deux extremités qui se prolongent au de-là du grain." Traité des monnoies &c. p. 9.

MAHOMETAN SYMBOLS.

In order to avoid, in the description of so many coins not very dissimilar, an unnecessary repetition of the symbols or formulary sentences which their legends exhibit, they are here brought together, with distinguishing appellations, by which they may be afterwards referred to as they occur.

Ommiah symbol, or sentence peculiar to the coins of that dynasty, from *surah* CXII. of the *korân.*

الله احد الله الصمد لم يلد و لم
يولد و لم يكن له كفوا احد

Deus est unus, Deus est æternus, non generavit neque generatus fuit, neque ullus ipsi similis uno.

First (general) symbol.

لا اله الا الله وحده
لا شريك له

Non est deus nisi Deus unicus, cui non est Socius.

Second symbol, from *surah* IX. v. 33, and *surah* LXI. v. 9, of the *korân.*

محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدي و دين الحق
ليظره علي الدين كله و لو كره المشركين (كون)

Muhammed est legatus Dei, quem misit cum directione et religione vera, ut eam extolleret super religiones omnes, si vel lædentur Associantes.

Third symbol, composed from the initial words of the two preceding.

لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله

Non est deus nisi Deus. Muhammed est legatus Dei.

Common

Common, short symbol, being the latter part of the Third.

محمد رسول الله

Muhammed est legatus Dei.

This will generally be found to have reference to the former part, on the opposite side of the coin.

To these may be added, though not frequently occurring, a sentence from *surah* xxx. v. 4. 5. of the *korân*

لله الامر من قبل ومن بعد يوميذ
يفرح المومنين بنصر الله

Deo est imperium antehac et in futurum, et tunc lætabantur Fideles in auxilio (s. victoria) divino:

And also the *Shîàh* or Fatimite symbol:

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله علي ولي الله

Non est deus nisi Deus. Muhammed est legatus Dei. Ali est amicus Dei.

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NUMISMATA ORIENTALIA ILLUSTRATA.

PART I.

KHALIFS, VICEGERENTS, OR SUCCESSORS

Of MUHAMMED BEN ABD-ALLAH محمد بن عبدالله, *whose pretended Mission commenced A.D.* 622, *and who died in* 632, *being the eleventh year of the* Hejrah *or Mahometan era.*

		A.H.	A.D.
1. *Abubekr*	ابوبكر	11	632
2. *Omar*	عمر	13	634
3. *Othmân*	عثمان	23	644
4. *Alí*	علي	35	656
5. *Hasan ben Alí*	حسن بن علي	40	661

KHALIFS OF THE RACE OF *OMMÍAH* بني اميه

1. *Muawíah*	معويه	41	661
2. *Yezíd ben Muawíah*	يزيد بن معويه	60	680
3. *Muawíah* II. *ben Yezíd*	معويه بن يزيد	64	684
4. *Abd-allah ben Zobeir*	عبدالله بن الزبير	64	684

5. *Merwân*

		A.H.	A.D.
5. *Merwán ben Hakem*	مروان بن الحكم	64	684
6. *Abd-al-malek ben Merwán*	عبدالملك بن مروان	65	684
7. *Walíd ben Abd-al-malek*	وليد بن عبدالملك	86	705
8. *Soleimán ben Abd-al-malek*	سليمان بن عبدالملك	96	714
9. *Òmar ben Abd-al-àzíz*	عمر بن عبدالعزيز	99	717
10. *Yezíd* II. *ben Abd-al-malek*	يزيد بن عبدالملك	101	720
11. *Heshám ben Abd-al-malek*	هشام بن عبدالملك	105	724
12. *Walíd* II. *ben Yezíd*	وليد بن يزيد	125	743
13. *Yezíd* III. *ben Walíd*	يزيد بن وليد	126	744
14. *Ibráhím ben Walíd*	ابراهيم بن وليد	126	744
15. *Merwán* II. *ben Muhammed*	مروان بن محمد	127	744

KHALIFS OF THE RACE OF *AL-ABBÁS* بني العباس

1. *Abu'l Abbás Al-Saffáh*	ابوالعباس الصفاح	132	750
2. *Al-Mansúr*	المنصور	136	754
3. *Al-Mahdí ben Mansúr*	المهدي بن المنصور	158	775
4. *Al-Hádi ben Mahdí*	الهادي بن المهدي	169	785
5. *Harún Al-Rashíd ben Mahdí*	هرون الرشيد بن المهدي	170	786
6. *Al-Amín ben Rashíd*	الامين بن الرشيد	193	809
7. *Al-Mámún ben Rashíd*	المامون بن الرشيد	198	813
Ibráhím ben Mahdí (competitor) from 202–817 to 203–818.	ابراهيم بن مهدي		
8. *Al-Mòtasem-billah ben Rashíd*	المعتصم بالله بن الرشيد	218	833
9. *Al-Wáthek billah ben Mòtasem*	الواثق بالله بن المعتصم	227	842
10. *Al-Motawakkel ála'llah ben Mòtasem*	المتوكل علي الله بن المعتصم	232	847

11. *Al-*

	A.H.	A.D.
11. *Al-Mostanser billah ben Motawakkel* المستنصر بالله بن المتوكل	247	861
12. *Al-Mostàin billah ben Muhammed ben Mòtasem* المستعين بالله بن محمد بن المعتصم	248	862
13. *Al-Mòtaz billah ben Motawakkel* المعتز بالله بن المتوكل	252	866
14. *Al-Mohtadî billah ben Wâthek* المهتدي بالله بن الواثق	255	869
15. *Al-Mòtamed ala'llah ben Motawakkel* المعتمد علي الله بن المتوكل	256	870
Muwaffek billah ben Motawakkel (his coadjutor) الموفق بالله بن المتوكل from 258–871 to 278–891.		
16. *Al-Mòtadhed billah ben Muwaffek* المعتضد بالله بن الموفق	279	892
17. *Al-Moktafî billah ben Mòtadhed* المكتفي بالله بن المعتضد	289	902
18. *Al-Moktader billah ben Mòtadhed* المقتدر بالله بن المعتضد	295	908
19. *Al-Kâher billah ben Mòtadhed* القاهر بالله بن المعتضد	320	932
20. *Al-Radhî billah ben Moktader* الراضي بالله بن المقتدر	322	934
21. *Al-Motakî billah ben Moktader* المتقي بالله بن المقتدر	329	940
22. *Al-Mostakfî billah ben Motakî* المستكفي بالله بن المتقي	333	944
23. *Al-Motî lillah ben Moktader* المطيع لله بن المقتدر	334	946
24. *Al-Tâi lillah ben Motî* الطايع لله بن المطيع	363	974
25. *Al-Kâder billah ben Ishak ben Moktader* القادر بالله بن اسحق بن المقتدر	381	991
26. *Al-Kâim beamrillah Abû Jàfar Abd-allah ben Kâder* القايم بامرالله ابو جعفر عبدالله بن القادر	422	1031
27. *Al-Moktadî billah Abu'l Kasem Abd-allah ben Muhammed ben Kâim* المقتدي بالله ابوالقاسم عبدالله بن محمد بن القايم	467	1075
28. *Al-Mostadher billah ben Moktadî* المستظهر بالله بن المقتدي	487	1094

29. *Al-*

		A.H.	A.D.
29.	*Al-Mostarshed billah ben Mostadher* المسترشد بالله بن المستظهر	512	1118
30.	*Al-Râshed billah ben Mostarshed* الراشد بالله بن المسترشد	529	1135
31.	*Al-Moktafí beamrillah ben Mostadher* المقتفي بامرالله بن المستظهر	530	1136
32.	*Al-Mostanjed billah ben Moktafí* المستنجد بالله بن المقتفي	555	1160
33.	*Al-Mostadhí beamrillah ben Mostanjed* المستضي بامرالله بن المستنجد	566	1170
34.	*Al-Nâser ledín illah ben Mostadhí* الناصر لدين الله بن المستضي	575	1180
35.	*Al-Dhâher beamrillah Muhammed ben Nâser* الظاهر بامرالله محمد بن الناصر	622	1225
36.	*Al-Mostanser billah Abú Jáfar Al-Mansúr ben Dhâher* المستنصر بالله ابو جعفر المنصور بن الظاهر	623	1226
37.	*Al-Mostásem billah Abú Ahmed Abd-allah ben Mostanser* المستعصم بالله ابو احمد عبدالله بن المستنصر	640	1242

In the year 656–1258 *Baghdâd* was besieged and taken by the Moghul chief *Hulâgu*, grandson of *Jengiz-khan*, and the khalif *Mostásem* put to death.

KHALIFS OF THE RACE OF *OMMIAH.*

I.

عبد الملك بن مروان *ABD-AL-MALEK BEN MERWÂN,*

Sixth khalif of the Ommiah race.

SILVER, An. 85.

I. AREA. لا اله الا الله وحده لاشريك له

Non est deus nisi Deus unicus, cui non est socius. (First symbol).

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بواسط
في سنه خمس و ثمنين

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in (urbe) *Wâset*, anno (Hej.) 85, (J. C. 704).

II. AREA. الله احد الله الصمد لم يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن له كفوا احد

Deus est unus, Deus est æternus, non generavit neque generatus fuit, neque ullus ipsi similis uno. (Symbol peculiar to the coinage of the *Ommiah* dynasty).

MARGIN. محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدي ودين الحق
ليظهره علي الدين كله ولو كره المشركون

Muhammed est legatus Dei, quem misit cum directione et religione vera, ut eam extolleret super religiones omnes, si vel lædentur associantes. (Second symbol).

WEIGHT, 1 dw. 20½ gr.

This dirhem of the year 85 of the *hejrah* claims to rank amongst the most ancient known at present to exist in the Cufic collections of Europe. The earliest coin of that denomination, bearing the date of 79, and coined at Damascus, is preserved in the cabinet of the Royal

 Academy

SILVER. An. 85. Academy of Stockholm; for the first notice of which we are indebted to C. A. Clewberg, in whose dissertation " de Numis Arabicis in Patria repertis," published at Abö in Finland, in the year 1755, it is described, with a well-executed engraving. Its next appearance is in a Plate belonging to the " Introductio in rem numariam Muhammedanorum," of O. G. Tychsen, published at Rostoch in 1794; being a copy from the former. Lastly it is given, with great accuracy, from the original, by J. Hallenberg, in a little work intitled, " Collectio nummorum Cuficorum, quos aere expressos edidit J. H." and published at Stockholm in 1800.

Not having obtained possession of this last interesting tract, whose author's name would have been sufficient to establish the correctness of its descriptions, until several years after he had given it to the world, I had conceived it doubtful whether there might not have been some inaccuracy on the part of Clewberg, who possibly might have mistaken the Arabic numeral word تسعين 90, for سبعين 70, which it so nearly resembles. In order therefore to remove any uncertainty, which on a point of so much importance to oriental numismatics ought not to subsist, I solicited (through a friend) to be indulged by the Academy with a *cast* from the original dirhem. This was most liberally and obligingly complied with, and in the year 1807 I received an exquisite impression, in plaster, that completely satisfied me of the genuineness of the date assigned to this rare piece of Arabian money.(1) In respect to neatness of workmanship,

(1) That a similar suspension of belief had subsisted in the minds of other numismatic writers appears from the following Note by the learned T. C. Tychsen of Göttingen: " Antiquissimum omnium exhibuisse reperio *Clewbergium*, Suecum, in diss. de numis Arabicis &c. scilicit anno 79 Hegiræ cusum, tres annos post initia rei monetariæ apud Arabes, secundum epocham a Thaberita traditam. Non tamen ausus sum hunc numum, qui etiam ill. *Eichhornii* fugit diligentiam, hic laudare, cum de titulis et anno certo non constet." De num. Cuf. Bibl. Gott. Comm. I. p. 111. In a subsequent treatise he says: " Hujus insignis numi ectypon, ceræ impressum, mecum communicavit idem vir ill. (O. G. Tychsen) ex quo apparet, cusum eum esse Damasci, anno 79, quanquam in hoc ectypo de voce سبعين (70) dubitare possis, nisi accederet viri peritissimi auctoritas." De num. Arab. Hisp. Comment. p. 87. So distinct is my impression, that with perfect confidence I can assert the reading to be seventy-nine. For the possession of it I am indebted to the friendly zeal of Mr. Charles Fenwick, H. M.'s Consul General in Denmark, who also procured for me Clewberg's rare work, that of Hallenberg on the same subject, and other publications that were interesting to me.

workmanship, matter and form of the inscriptions, and every circumstance excepting the date and place of coinage, it is an exact counterpart of the dirhem here described, of the year 85, from the mint of *Wâset*, a city of Babylonian Irak. SILVER, An. 85.

The other very early specimens of the same class that have come to my knowledge, as existing in Great Britain, are, one of the year 86 in the Hunterian Collection at Glasgow; of 88, described by G. Costard, as having belonged to a cabinet at Oxford; (2) of 89, 90, and 111 in the British Museum, and of 89, 90, 95 (in duplicate), 97, 113, and 118, in this Collection. Of those preserved in foreign cabinets and well authenticated (that of Bützow of the year 82, described in an early German publication by O. G. Tychsen, being too anomalous in its legend to be relied upon), the most ancient are, the dirhem of 90, in the Borgian Museum, described by Adler (Collect. nov.); of 98, in that of Göttingen, by T. C. Tychsen; that of 100 in the Nanian Collection of Venice, by Simone Assemani, and those of 106, 117, and 121, in the Pototian of Casan, by C. M. Fraehn. Of the dinar, or gold coin, the earliest in date, hitherto described, is that of the year 91 in the Nanian Collection, to which the duplicates of 92, in this, are next in rank. In

 none

(2) It has been presumed to belong to the Bodleian, but without sufficient authority, as Costard, who gives a print of it (in wood), with an accurate translation by the learned Dr. Hunt, says only that "it was formerly in the possession of Dr. Fisher the librarian." He describes it as a silver coin weighing 1 dw. 20 gr. (which corresponds to the weight of others of the same period), and so fair and well preserved that some were apt to suspect its genuineness on that account. "I have given," he adds, "the coin itself, because I believe it hath never yet been published, and is perhaps the oldest Arabic coin extant, being struck within twelve years of the time that the Caliphs first set up a mint." There is reason however to apprehend, from the following communication on the subject, made by my learned friend, the late Dr. Ford of Magd. Coll. Oxford, that this curious specimen either no longer exists, or has fallen into the hands of some person to whom its nature and value are unknown. In a letter dated March 6th 1807, in answer to my inquiries, he says: "The coin described by Costard, or rather published by him from the description of Dr. Hunt, is not, I have extremely good reason for believing, in any of the Bodleian collections. Mr. Fisher, the owner of it, died in 1747 or 1748, and we must conclude, I think, from Costard's words who wrote in 1750, that it had gone out of his hands before he died: but he does not, and perhaps could not say, into whose it went. Though I have not often seen the Christ Church collection, *i. e.* that of the late Dr. Browne, I cannot think Mr. Fisher's coin makes a part of it, as he (Browne) had not, I apprehend, begun to form his collection when the other died. However, I will examine the cabinet with a very particular view to this object."

SILVER, An. 85. none of all these, nor in any other coin of the *Ommiah* race, is the name of the khalif expressed. On their gold coinage the name of the place also is wanting.

In what is above stated respecting the priority of dates, some material corrections are rendered necessary by the publication of the "Monete Cufiche dell' I. R. Museo di Milano," already noticed in the introductory part of this work; inasmuch as that Museum has to boast the possession of a dinar coined in the year 77 of the hejrah, two years earlier than the celebrated dirhem of the Stockholm Academy, and also of dirhems bearing the dates of 92, 93?, 94, and 103. The dinar, a rarity of no small estimation, belonged, as we are told by Sig. Cattaneo, the editor, to a small collection made in different parts of Europe by Sig. Cav. Millingen, which became annexed to the Museum of Milan; but we are not informed of any circumstances relative to its anterior history. In the discernment shewn by the Conte Castiglioni throughout his able illustrations, we have sufficient warrant of its genuineness and the correct reading of its date. One subject of remark, however, so obviously presenting itself in this conspicuous feature of his work, it would be improper to pass unnoticed. In the letter-press the word that expresses the denomination of coin is written دينار *dinár;* whereas it is well known that during the khalifat of the house of *Ommiah*, and until the latter period of the Abbasite dynasty, it was uniformly written دينر *dinar*, without the *alif* quiescent. Any doubt of this being merely an error of transcription, we might expect to clear up at once by inspecting the Plate, but it unfortunately happens that the engraving is indistinct and the letters confused in that part; yet enough appears to render it little probable that an *alif* had place in the original word. Did not the coin hold so eminent a rank in oriental collections, this minuteness of criticism might have been spared.

Of the dirhem which is the second coin in the descriptive part of his work, but has reference to n. 2. of his Second Plate, it is stated to be uncertain, as only the final character (ن) remains of the decimal term, whether the date should be considered as 83 or 93. On this we may observe,

observe, that the more early a date is presumed to be, the less equivocal should be the evidences of its antiquity, and that as none are adduced to render the former probable, it will be safest to assign the year 93 as the date of the coin. SILVER, An. 85.

It must also be noticed, that in a work intitled, " Descrizione di alcune Monete Cufiche del Museo di Stefano de Mainoni," and published at Milan in 1820, we find the reading of a dirhem bearing the date of 82, which consequently has claim to the second rank in Cufic silver coinage. The name of the place, unfortunately, is obliterated, and its state of preservation seems imperfect; yet is to be regretted that the editor should not have been induced to include a coin of so much presumptive importance, amongst those of which he has given lithographic delineations. Professor Fraehn likewise mentions a dirhem of the year 84 in the cabinet of the Comte de Blacas, at Rome.

The short sentence found in the central space or Area, on that side of these *drachmæ principes* which appears to be intended for their Obverse or Front, and which for brevity sake shall be denoted by the Roman numeral I., as shall the Reverse by II., we may term the first Mahometan symbol or formulary profession of faith. It insists emphatically upon the Unity of the Godhead. This, as will be seen, was subsequently modified. The sentence in the Area of II. is a verse from the *korân*, in which the Eternity and the Incorporeal nature are in like manner asserted, and from the expressions employed, is evidently levelled at the Christian faith, as the former probably was at the idolatry of the Arabs. This is peculiar to coins struck by the khalifs of the house of *Ommiah*, whether in Syria, or, after their expulsion from the original seat of government, in Spain. It is remarkable, indeed, that no instance has occurred of the phrase الله الصمد " Deus (est) æternus," being found on the coinage of any other dynasty. The sentence in the Margin of II. is also a quotation from the *korân*, and may be regarded as the Second Mahometan symbol. In later times it became the practice to abbreviate these sentences, and joining together the commencements of the First and Second, to form the Third or most common and best known symbol, which

Silver, An. 85. which maintains the Unity of the divine nature, together with the sacred Mission of the Prophet; and this is generally employed in the more modern coinage, as well as in the convocations to prayer from the turrets of the mosques.

II.

وليد بن عبد الملك *WALÎD BEN ABD-AL-MALEK*,

Seventh khalif of the Ommiah race.

Silver, An. 89.

I. Area. First symbol, as in dirhem of 85.

Margin. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بواسط
في سنه تسع و ثمنين

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in *Wâset*, anno 89 (707).

II. Area. Symbol peculiar to *Ommiah* dynasty, as in dirhem of 85.

Margin. Second symbol. (1 dw. $20\frac{3}{4}$ gr.)

This dirhem of *Walîd* the son of *Abd-al-Malek* entirely resembles the preceding, with the exception that in the word كفوا the ف was there, by a mistake of the die-engraver, repeated, and it stands كففوا; whereas in this it is correct.

III.

WALÎD BEN ABD-AL-MALEK.

Silver, An. 90.

I. Area. First symbol.

Margin بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بنهر تيري
في سنه تسعين

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in *Nahr-tîri*, anno 90 (708).

II. AREA.	*Ommiah* symbol.	SILVER, An. 90.
MARGIN.	Second symbol. (1 dw. 20 gr.)	

The general resemblance of this dirhem to the two preceding, excepting in respect to the date and the place of coinage, renders unnecessary any further remark than that *Nahr-tîrî* or *tîra* is a town of *Khuzistan*, about one day's journey from *Ahwaz*, and the same distance from the bank of the *Shat-al-Arab* or united streams of the Euphrates and Tigris. Its distance also from *Wâset* is not considerable, and being situated within the government of *Hejaj*, we are not surprised to find the coins of the two places so exactly alike both in the inscriptions and style of the engraving.

This early and perfect specimen did not belong to the original part of the collection, but was subsequently purchased.

IV.

WALÎD BEN ABD-AL-MALEK.

I. AREA.	First symbol.	GOLD, An. 92.
MARGIN.	Second symbol.	
II. AREA.	*Ommiah* symbol.	
MARGIN.	بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر سنه اثنين و تسعين	

In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius, anno 92 (710). (2 dw. 17½ gr.)

In the gold coins of the earlier khalifs, whether those of the race of *Ommiah* or of *Abbas*, until about the close of the second century of the *hejrah*, we do not find the name of the place where or of the prince by whom they were struck; and from the date alone (always expressed in words at length) the latter point can be ascertained. With regard to the place, it is evident that at this period the coinage of gold was confined to Damascus, the seat of the imperial government, and as such it may have

GOLD, An. 92. have been thought that the notoriety justified the omission of any particular specification upon the dinars. The *dirhems* on the contrary, having from an early period been struck in the provinces as well as at the capital, never fail to express the name of the place.

In consequence, as it would seem, of the smaller size of the gold coin, the inscriptions in the margin of I. and in the area of II. are something shorter than in the *dirhems*, the last member of each sentence being cut off. It is observable also that the terminating word of the former, has uniformly the appearance of لله instead of لله, until the year 165, when the ه takes its proper shape, and which it bears in other parts of the inscription. To account for this we can only suppose that the engraver may have been misled by the much more familiar recurrence of the former word in the practice of his art. Another distinction is the employment of the preposition في before سنة in the date of the dirhems, which in the dinars is not found.

The earliest dinar known to exist, as has been observed, is that of the year 91, in the Collection at Venice, described by the learned Assemani. These of 92 (duplicates, in the most perfect preservation, and differing from each other in weight not more than a quarter of a grain) hold therefore the second place amongst the gold Cufic coins.(1)

V.

WALÎD BEN ABD-AL-MALEK.

SILVER, An. 95.

I. AREA. First symbol.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بمرو
في سنة خمس وتسعين

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in *Meru* s. *Merv*, anno 95 (713).

II. AREA. *Omniah* symbol.

MARGIN. Second symbol. (1 dw. $23\frac{3}{4}$ gr.)

Merú.

(1) This was written before the publication of the "*Monete Cufiche di Milano*," which boasts the possession, by the imperial cabinet, of a dinar of 77.

Merú (or *Merv* according to the pronunciation of the Persians, who call it also *Merv Shahján* مرو شهجان, to distinguish it from *Merv-ar-rúd* (مرو الرود), where this dirhem was coined, held a principal rank amongst the cities of *Khorasán*, and after the conquest of the province in the khalifat of *Othmán*, was at several periods the seat of government. Of the produce of its mint, at this early period, few specimens exist; yet it happens that since the collection came into my hands, I have had an opportunity of procuring (as in the case also of the preceding dinar of 92) a duplicate in equally complete preservation. In the sequel we shall find a dinar struck at *Meru* in the year 245. SILVER, An. 95.*

VI.

سليمان بن عبد الملك *SOLEIMÂN BEN ABD-AL-MALEK*,

Eighth khalif of the Ommiah race.

I. AREA. First symbol. SILVER, An. 97.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بسابو...
في سنه سبع وتسعين

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in . . . *sabú* . . (*Nisabúr*) anno 97 (716).

II. AREA. *Ommiah* symbol.

MARGIN. Second symbol. (1 dr. 16½ gr.)

The principal cities of *Khorasán*, as we are informed by the Arabian geographer *Ibn Hakal*, were مرو *Merú*, بلخ *Balkh*, نيسابور *Nîsábúr*, and هراة *Herát*. However imperfectly the name of the third of these cities may be represented by the letters سابو *sábú* or يسابو *îsábú*, on this dirhem, little doubt can be entertained of its having been coined at *Nîsábúr*, as the Arabians write the word, or نيشاپور *Nîshápúr*, according to the Persian orthography. The final ر, indeed, is not entirely obliterated by

Silver, An. 97. a hole punched through that part of the specimen; and instances will frequently occur of contractions or omissions of letters, in the names of places. Thus in الشاش *Al-Shash* (a town of Transoxana) the word is abbreviated, on some coins, by curtailing a portion of the two letters ش, for a reason sufficiently obvious in a circular inscription. The specimen is altogether in a less perfect state than any of the other dirhems of the *Ommiah* dynasty.

VII.

يزيد بن عبد الملك *YEZÎD BEN ABD-AL-MALEK,*

Tenth khalif of the Ommiah race.

Gold, (small), An. 103.

I. Area. Part of first symbol.

Margin. Part of second symbol.

II. Area. بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

In nomine Dei misericordis,

Margin. ضرب هذا الثلث سنة ثلث ومية

cuditur hoc Tertiarium, anno 103 (721). (20 gr.)

This small and beautiful gold coin, the *third* part of a dinar, and so denominated in the inscription, is the earliest of the kind known to exist. Of later dates, and under other dynasties, there are also in the collection several specimens of fractional gold money. The weight is here about two grains short of its due proportion.

In order to economise the small space presented by the surface of the coin, the legends are peculiarly arranged, and should be read, in continuation, from the Area to the Margin. In II. a whole sentence is omitted, and that which expresses the date being alone too short to occupy the space, the attributes الرحمن الرحيم are added to the name of the Deity.

VIII.

هشام بن عبد الملك *HESHÂM BEN ABD-AL-MALEK,*

Eleventh khalif of the Ommiah race.

I. AREA.	First symbol.	GOLD, An. 113.
MARGIN.	Second symbol.	
II. AREA.	*Ommiah* symbol.	
MARGIN.	بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر سنه ثلث عشرة ومية	

In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius, anno 113 (731). (2 dw. 7 gr.)

The workmanship of this dinar (which has been added to the original collection) is inferior to that of the preceding coins of the same description. In the legend there is no difference but that of date.

IX.

HESHÂM BEN ABD-AL-MALEK.

I. AREA.	First symbol.	SILVER, An. 113.
MARGIN.	بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بافريقية سنه ثلث عشرة ومية	

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in *Afrikiah,* anno 113 (731).

II. AREA.	*Ommiah* symbol.	
MARGIN.	Second symbol. (1 dw. 21½ gr.)	

This, as well as a subsequent dirhem of the year 118, are remarkable for the place at which they appear to have been coined. By *Afrikiah,* or Africa proper, the Arabian geographers understood that portion of Mauritania which is included between the Egyptian desert on the eastern

SILVER, An. 113. side, and the kingdom of Tunis on the western, and which was subdued by the Moslems in the year 45 of the *hejrah*.(1) Its capital was *Kairawan* قيروان. Why the name of a province rather than of a city should have been inscribed on the coin, may be a question of some difficulty, but the characters being distinctly legible, no doubt can be entertained of the word, and examples are not wanting of a similar practice in other distant parts of the empire. Thus مصر *Misr*, which was anciently and is still the proper name of Egypt, stands on the coinage for its capital city; اندلس *Andalus* (Andalusia), applied by the same geographers to that southern part of Spain which was subject to the Moors, denotes the city of Corduba or Cordova, and مدينه صقليه *Medînah Sikiliah*, the city of Palermo in Sicily. Amongst Cufic specimens in the British Museum there is a dirhem in fine preservation struck at this place in the year 111.

X.

HESHÂM BEN ABD-AL-MALEK.

COPPER, An. 116.

I. AREA. Part of first symbol.

MARGIN. ضرب ... سنه ست عشر ومیه

Cuditur ... anno 116 (734).

II. AREA. Part of second symbol.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب الفلس بمصر

In nomine Dei cuditur (hic) obolus in *Misr* (metropoli Aegypti).

This earliest specimen in the Collection, of copper coinage, was struck in the capital of Egypt, which, as well as the country itself, had, from early times, borne the name of مصر *Misr*. Its more specific as well as more

(1) Al Magreb المغرب sive regio Africæ occidentalis, trifariam dividitur ..... Pars tertia, eaque orientalior vocatur Afrikeah افريقيه, et extenditur ad Barka, usque ad limites provinciarum Mesr. Abulfedæ Geogr. ex Trad. I. Gagnier."

more common name at this period was فسطاط *Fostat*, belonging particularly to the city founded by *Amru*, during the Khalifat of *Omar*, in the immediate vicinity of the ancient capital, and which after the building of القاهرة *Al-Káhirah* or Cairo, in the fourth century of the *hejrah*, was known by the appellation of Old Cairo. So nearly contiguous were these also, that *Salah-ed-dîn* commenced the operation of surrounding them both with a wall.(1)

COPPER, An. 116.

Respecting the material employed in the fabrication of this money, an anecdote characteristic of the times has been preserved by an Arabian writer, and extracted from his work by Simone Assemani. In substance it states, that upon a representation being made by the Prefect of Egypt to the khalif *Walîd*, in the following concise terms: "O Prince of the Faithful, we have here in Alexandria the colossal statue of an idol, in bronze, whilst at the same time we are suffering from a scarcity of small money," an imperial order was returned for demolishing the idol and converting the metal to the purposes of current coin. Although later in date by about twenty years, the piece here described may have been the produce of that or a similar statue; and it is judiciously remarked by Tychsen, that the variety observable in the composition of this currency (evident amongst some hundred specimens in my possession) may be attributed to the practice of melting down these ancient monuments of Egypt, without reducing the metals to a common standard.

As the word *dînar* is evidently borrowed from the Latin denarius (however wrong the application), and *dirhem* from the Greek drachma, so, it is presumed, that فلس *fels* (in the plural فلوس *felûs*), the term for small copper or base metal money, comes from the Latin *follis*. In the dictionaries of Meninski and others it is rendered by the word obolus.

It will be observed that the word ضرب cuditur, presents itself on both sides of the coin, and that on I. it is followed by a short illegible word intervening between it and the date.

XI.

(1) A satisfactory account of the dates and distinguishing circumstances of these successive or co-existing cities, together with that of *Menfi* or Memphis on the opposite side of the river, will be found in the Monete Cufiche, p. 256-268.

XI.

HESHAM BEN ABD-AL-MALEK.

SILVER, An. 118.

I. AREA. First symbol.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم
بافريقيه سنه ثمان عشره ومیه

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in *Afrikiah*, anno 118 (736).

II. AREA. *Ommiah* symbol.

MARGIN. Second symbol. (1 dw. 21 gr.)

This is the last in the collection of the series of dirhems, with inscriptions peculiar to the khalifs of the *Ommiah* race, and of remarkable beauty. They are here eight in number, including one duplicate, and one specimen imperfectly preserved, and embrace a period of 34 years, from 85 to 118 inclusive. Although coined in different mints, it is evident that the dies were all cut in one place, if not by the same hand; and that place, we have historical grounds to believe, was Damascus.

XII.

HESHÂM BEN ABD-AL-MALEK.

COPPER, An. 121.

I. AREA. First symbol.

II. AREA. محمد رسول الله

Muhammed est legatus Dei.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلس بواسط
سنه احدي وعشرين ومیه

In nomine Dei cuditur hic follis in *Wâset*, anno 121 (738).

Contrary

Contrary to what has been observed of the quality of the Egyptian small currency, the copper in this obolus struck at *Waset* appears to be unmixed with any baser metal. The characters also are in the chaste style of the dirhems coined at the same place, and remain perfectly distinct on this specimen, although by its having been in circulation, they have lost their relief. COPPER, An. 121.

The piece bearing date in the year 110, described by Assemani (Museo Cufico, n. LIV.), although of copper, is not in fact an obolus or *fels*, as he supposes, but must have been struck from a die intended for the coining of dinars; of which species of falsification a remarkable instance will be found in this collection, under the year 208; and we have abundant proof in the specimen before us, as well as in others of the same denomination, that the learned Orientalist is in an error when he asserts that the word *fels* or *fils* was not employed in the legends of the small money, at that early period, but instead of it, the word *dinar*:[1] whereas, on the genuine money of the khalifs, the terms dinar, dirhem, and fels are never confounded, although, in a figurative sense, dinar is often used by writers to imply money in general.

XIII.

HESHÂM BEN ABD-AL-MALEK.

GOLD, An. 124.

I. AREA. First symbol.

MARGIN. Second symbol.

II. AREA. *Ommiah* symbol.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر
سنه أربع وعشرين ومية

In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius anno 124 (742). (2 dw. 17½ gr.)

This

(1) " Questa voce però non si usa nelle epigrafi antiche, ma in vece la voce Dinaro presa dai Greci." P. lxxxviii.

GOLD, An. 124. This was coined in the year preceding the death of *Heshâm*, who reigned from 105 to 125. The execution and general appearance of it and the following dinar exactly resemble those of the coinage of *Walîd I.* in 92.

XIV.

وليد بن يزيد *WALÎD II. BEN YEZÎD,*

Twelfth khalif of the Ommiah race.

GOLD, An. 126.

I. AREA.	First symbol.
MARGIN.	Second symbol.
II. AREA.	*Ommiah* symbol.
MARGIN.	بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر سنه ست و عشرين و ميه

In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius, anno 126 (744). (2 dw. 17½ gr.)

As the names of the khalifs did not, at this period, form part of the inscription, there is some difficulty in assigning to their proper sovereigns the coins struck in a year in which the one ceased and the other began to reign. Such in the present instance is the case, and instead of *Walîd* II., we may doubt whether this dinar might not have belonged to his cousin, *Yezîd* III., by whom he was murdered. The duration of the reign of the latter was little more than five months; and even that of *Ibrahîm*, his successor, who held the throne only two months, is said by some authors to have commenced in the same year 126, although it is more generally understood to have been in the early part of 127; when he was deposed by *Merwân* II., the last khalif of the house of *Ommiah*.

XV.

A KHALIF OF THE RACE OF *OMMIAH.*

COPPER. An. 85-127

I. AREA. الله احد الله الصمد

Deus est unus, Deus est æternus.

MARGIN. First symbol.

II. AREA. محمد رسول الله

Muhammed est legatus Dei.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلس بحران حار

In nomine Dei cuditur hic obolus in *Hárran* . . . .

This *fels* or obolus, being without date, cannot be referred to any particular khalif, but the inscription, which is remarkably perfect, shews that it belongs to the first race. The place of coinage appears to be حران *Harrán* of Mesopotamia, the Carræ of the Romans, where the army of Crassus was defeated. The name is followed, however, by some letters that may be read خا *khâr* or perhaps حار *hârr* "hot," for the purpose of distinction from another city; as it may be observed in the Binæ Tabulæ of Gravius that it is termed حران از جزیره or *Harrân* of *Jezîreh.*

Another obolus with similar inscriptions expresses distinctly its being coined at *Taberriah* تطبریه, as the Arabs name the city of Tiberias, in Palestine, which fell into their hands at an early period.(1) There are also some, without date, from the mint of Damascus, but as they want the symbol peculiar to the *Ommiah* dynasty, it may be inferred that they were coined in the interval between the accession of the Abbassites and the building of *Baghdâd.*

(1) "Urbem autem Tiberiadem Muhammedani, paulo postquam cepissent Damascum, iisdem deditionis conditionibus occuparunt." Golii Notæ in Alferganum, p. 136.

KHALIFS OF THE RACE OF *AL-ABBÂS.*

XVI.

ابو جعفر المنصور *ABÛ JÂFAR AL-MANṢÛR,*

Second khalif of the race of Al-Abbás.

COPPER, An. 139.

I. AREA. First symbol.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلس بمصر
سنه تسع وثلثين و ميه

In nomine Dei cuditur hic obolus in Misr, anno 139 (756).

II. AREA. محمد رسول الله

Muhammed est legatus Dei,

MARGIN. ارسله باالهدي ودين الحق
ليظهره علي الدين كله

Quem misit cum directione et religione vera, ut eam extolleret super religiones omnes.

To the first or *Ommiah* race of khalifs succeeded, in the year 134 of the hejrah, the house of *Al-Abbás* or Abassite khalifs, in the person of *Abû'l Abbás al-Saffah,* whose son and successor was *Abû Jáfar al-Mansûr.* In his reign this obolus was coined, in the capital of the province of Egypt. The size is so small as to warrant the supposition of its being only a half-obolus or *fels;* unless a diminution in weight, in proportion to the improved quality of the metal (being pure copper) may have taken place. The legend is more ample and perfect than on the Egyptian obolus of 116. The words which appear in the Margin of II. are a continuation of the sentence in the Area, forming together the second Mahometan symbol, abbreviated by a few words, as on the dinars.

XVII.

XVII.

ABÛ JÂFAR AL-MANSUR.

I. AREA. First symbol. GOLD, An. 146.

MARGIN. Second symbol.

II. AREA. محمد رسول الله

Muhammed est legatus Dei.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر
سنه ست واربعين ومية

In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius anno 146 (763). (2 dw. 14¾ gr.)

In this dinar, as well as in all the coins of the Abbassite dynasty, the celebrated passage from *surah* CXII of the *korân*, "Deus est unus, Deus est æternus," which distinguishes those of the *Ommiah* family, gives place to an abbreviation of the second symbol, consisting of the first four words, "Muhammed est legatus Dei"; and this, from its frequent recurrence, may be termed the common or short symbol.

As it was only in the preceding year that *Al-Mansûr* laid the foundation of the city of *Baghdâd*, destined to be the residence of a numerous succession of khalifs, we may presume that the gold coin of this period was struck at *Heshamîah* near *Cufah*, where in the mean time he held his court. It is observed by Makrizi that in his reign the weight of the dinar suffered a diminution of three *habbahs* or grains, which is verified by a comparison of the present coin with those of the year 124 and 126.

XVIII.

AL-MANSÛR.

I. AREA. First symbol. GOLD, An. 154.

MARGIN. Second symbol.

GOLD, An. 154.

II. AREA. محمد رسول الله

Muhammed est legatus Dei.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر
سنه اربع وخمسين ومیه

In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius anno 154 (770). (2 dw. 13 gr.)

This differs from the preceding dinar only in date and in having been more in circulation, although without injury to the distinctness of the characters. As the khalif *Al-Mansûr* had a few years before this period established his residence in *Baghdâd*, which he termed the City of Peace or Prosperity, the gold coinage (upon which it was not customary to express the place where it was struck until near half a century later) may be supposed to have issued from the mint of this his new capital.(1)

XIX.

AL-MANSÛR.

GOLD, An. 157.

I. AREA. First symbol.

MARGIN. Second symbol.

II. AREA. Common short symbol.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر
سنه سبع وخمسين ومیه

n nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius anno 157 (773).
(2 dw. 14½ gr. 2 dw. 18½ gr.).

This also is similar, with the exception of the date, to the preceding, and appears to have been in circulation. Another *dinar*, however, of the same

(1) The first dinar in this collection upon which the *urbs monetaria* appears, is one of *Misr*, the capital of Egypt, coined in 200 (815).

same year, and in complete preservation, exhibits in its marginal legends (those of the areas being perfect) many remarkable inaccuracies. In the second symbol, round the margin of I. the word رسول is contracted to رول, as if in consequence of inattention in dividing the space; in ليظهره the hard ـه is substituted for the soft aspirate ـهـ, and the last word has little resemblance to كله. In the margin of II. also, the words بسم, ضرب, دينر have strange mistakes of one letter for another; but the date is correct, excepting that the first letter of the word مية seems to have changed places with the first of that immediately following. From these defects we might be induced to pronounce it spurious. Yet, when well considered, they are not such as usually characterise a forgery. In attempts of that nature recourse is had to casts, impressions, or other artificial means, to produce as exact an imitation as possible of an original coin, and the failure is in the nicer strokes or in the general appearance, which counterfeits seldom represent with success. In this specimen, on the contrary, there is nothing in the appearance to distinguish it from others acknowledged to be genuine, that are in as good preservation; whilst its faults are of a kind that no intentional imitator could be presumed to commit; because if his object were to deceive the curious collector, he would thereby furnish the means of his detection; and the coin being of full weight (2dw. 18½gr.), no purpose of commercial fraud could be answered. Upon the whole therefore I entertain little doubt of its having been struck at the period its date expresses; but as other dinars of the same year are correct in their inscriptions, we may infer this to have been a rejected proof.

GOLD, An. 157.

It is worthy of remark that in the correct specimen, the point or dot appears under the ب of the word سبع, although these diacritical marks did not belong to the Cufic alphabet, especially at so early a period.

XX.

XX.

AL-MANSUR.

SILVER, An. 157.

I. AREA. First symbol.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الد رهم بمدينه
السلام سنه سبع وخمسين ومیه

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in Urbe Pacis (*Baghdâd*), anno 157 (773).

II. AREA. محمد رسول الله ج ج

Muhammed est legatus Dei, Euge! Euge!

MARGIN. Second symbol. (1 dw. 21 gr.)

In the legend of this dirhem, of the same year as the dinar last described, we find more information than has been afforded by any of the preceding coins. It is the first upon which appears the name of the new capital, or city of Peace, but over which the popular one of بغداد *Baghdâd* has predominated.(1) The style of the characters is less elegant, and the execution inferior to that which distinguishes the dirhems of the *Ommiah* race.

At the bottom of Area II. we observe the duplication of certain letters, which I think are designed for ج.ج, being equivalent to Io triumphe! and as they are found also upon the copper coinage of the same year, they may have reference to some subject of public rejoicing.(2) That they

(1) Reiske makes a distinction of name between that applied to the whole city, and to the part situated on the western side of the Tigris. "Sciendum (he says) Bagdat et Medinat es-Salam differre ut majus et minus, totum et pars. Bagdad est totum, et complectitur utramque urbem, cis et trans Tigridem. Medinat es-Salam est tantum urbs cis Tigridem sue occidentalis." Ad-notationes hist. ad Abulf. Annales, T. ii. p. 790. See what is said on the subject of *Muhammediah*, supposed to be a part of the city of Baghdad, in Note to description of dirhem of the year 168.

(2) "ج geminatum ad emphasin, interjectio laudantis, contenti et approbantis, Euge, Io, Evax!" Golii Lexicon.

they cannot stand for the proper name of a person (supposing them to be read نح نح, as contractions of نوح *Nuh*(3)) may be argued from the repetition, which would be without example; nor can they be a mint-mark, the use of which is to distinguish the coinage of one mint from that of another, because they exist on coins struck in different mints. At the top of the same Area there appears a small dot or point; but not so remarkable in respect to size as one (noticed by Makrizi) that will be found on the dirhems of the following reign. SILVER, An. 157.

XXI.

AL-MANSUR.

I. AREA. لااله الا الله وحده لا شريك له — COPPER, An. 157.

علي يدي أحمد

First symbol. Cura s. opera *Ahmed.*

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا ..... بال ... دين

سنه سبع وخمسين ومیه

In nomine Dei cuditur hic (obolus) in .... *dín*, anno 157 (773).

II. AREA.

(3) Adler, in his description of an Abbassite obolus (or denarius, as he ambiguously terms it) coined subsequently to the year 170, and before 180, observes that: "supra et infra hunc titulum litteræ quædam solitariæ animadvertuntur, quarum ultimæ نوح Noa, nomen forte gubernatoris, esse videntur." Museum Cuficum, p. 50. This, however, belongs to the khalifat of *Harûn Al-Rashíd.* O. G. Tychsen notices a name which appeared to him to be "روخ *Rokh* aut نوح *Nuh*, in numo Mansuris, a. 155. Chr. 771; but the characters, as expressed in his engraving (T. I. n. VI.), are very doubtful. Introductio in rem num. Muhamm. p. 30. On a copper coin described in the Monete Cufiche, bearing the same date, the word عدل justitia (if it be not a proper name) occupies the same place.

COPPER, An. 157.

II. AREA. محمد رسول الله بخ بخ

Muhammed est legatus Dei.

MARGIN. مما امر به الانام ..... المومنين

رضا الله بدر s. بكر

Ex auctoritate *al-Imâm* (antistis) ..... Fidelium, voluntate Dei ...

The legend on this double obolus, which exhibits some peculiarities, has been made out from two imperfect specimens, that also correspond generally with one of the same date (belonging to the Dresden cabinet) described by Reiske, and enumerated in Eichhorn's list. (Repertorium x^er^ Th. 200 bl. und xvii^es^ Th. 249 bl.) The first novelty that presents itself is the phrase denoting it to have been executed by (per manum), or, coined under the superintendence of a person, otherwise unknown, whose name was *Ahmed*.(1) The word that should express the denomination of the coin is obliterated in the three specimens, which can scarcely be attributed to accident, and of the name of the place nothing remains but the last syllable, دين *dîn* (not very distinct), which may belong to مردين *Mardîn*, a well-known city of Mesopotamia. The reading suggested by Reiske, is قنسرين *Kinserîn* or *Kinnesrin*, a town of Syria. At the bottom of Area II. are found the characters بخ بخ, as in the dirhem last described.

This is the earliest coin of the collection in which the formulary words, "مما امر به ex mandato s. ex auctoritate" (so commonly occurring in the sequel) make their appearance. By O. G. Tychsen they are, however, attributed to *Abu'l Abbâs Al-Saffah*, the first khalif of this race. The phrase seems to imply a delegation of the power of coining certain species of money; but to whom in this case is uncertain, as only the title of *Al-Imâm*

(1) From a strong opinion of the disadvantage to oriental literature, of the practice adopted by the Latin writers on the subject of the Crusades and others who have followed their example, of putting *in regimine* the proper names of persons and places, by giving them terminations in the Latin form, to denote the oblique cases, I have endeavoured to avoid it, and in the present instance accordingly write "Cura *Ahmed*" in preference to the possessive case "*Ahmedis*," which an Arabian scholar would have a right to consider as a barbarism. The inconvenience of the grammatical modifications would be still more striking in such names (hereafter occurring) as *Timurtash* or *Toghrul-beg*.

Al-Imâm remains,(2) and words are evidently wanting between that and المومنين Fidelium; which also occurs here for the first time, and should be preceded by امير princeps s. imperator, as constituting the peculiar title of the reigning khalif. At the concluding part of this circular inscription we observe two words, that, if correctly read, must signify "by the Will of God," followed by a third of more uncertain orthography. Reiske, however, takes a view altogether different, of the whole sentence, and reads it موسي مولي امير المومنين عبد الله, which he translates, "Musa der Verwalter der *Emir ol Mumenin Abdollah*," i. e. "administrator of affairs for the Commander of the Faithful, *Abdallah*"; to which, he thinks should be added the words, "ابي جعفر المنصور *Abi Jafar al Mansur*," and from this imaginary legend, (unwarranted by that of my duplicate specimens, where the words مما امر به at least are perfectly distinct) he proceeds to draw (bl. 202) five separate historical inferences. The deciphering of Reiske is adopted by Eichhorn, who thinks at the same time that the supposed name of موسي *Musa* should have been preceded by "عسي بن," and the words stand: "*Isa ben Musa;*" although unfortunately the circle of the obolus could not contain above one half of these ingenious emendations. COPPER, An. 157.

XXII.

المهدي محمد بن المنصور *AL-MAHDI MUHAMMED BEN AL-MANSÛR.*

Third Abbassite khalif.

I. AREA. First symbol. COPPER, An. 160.

E II. AREA.

(2) The title of *Al-Imâm* (properly signifying a religious leader, antistes) is not found to occur again until the year 194, when it appears on a dirhem struck under the khalifat of *Al-Amîn*, but in the name of his younger brother and rival, *Al-Mamûm;* described by Kehr, Monarch. Asiat. status, n. XVII. and enumerated by Eichhorn, Repertor. XVII. Theil. p. 266. It would seem to have been affected, about this period, by the heir apparent or presumptive of the empire.

COPPER, An. 160.

II. AREA. * محمد رسول الله مهدي

Muhammed est legatus Dei. *Mahdi.*

MARGIN. مما امربه ..... محمد امير المومنين
بالكوفه سنه ستين و ميه

Ex mandato (*Al-Mahdi*) *Muhammed*, imperator fidelium, in *Kufah*, anno 160 (776).

This obolus, from the mint of *Kufah* (a city of Babylonian Irak, which gave name to the Cufic character), exhibits also some remarkable features. In the margin it is stated to have been struck "by order" of the Commander of the Faithful, *Al-Mahdi Muhammed* (son and successor of *Al-Mansûr*); an expression that seems to be confined to the copper money of this khalif, but which we find, in one instance at least, on the gold of the following reign. Its probable import is, that the power of coining, which had been exercised by the sovereign alone, was by him committed, with regard to certain species of money, to some other person.

The word at the bottom of Area II. appears a superfluous repetition of the name of *Mahdi* (written *Mohdi* by the learned Reiske, who affected a Syriac pronunciation of Arabic words), but as it occurs only on the pieces struck at *Kufah*, it may be intended for the governor of the province rather than for the khalif. At the bottom of Area I. we discover two small dots, which may be considered as a mint-mark; and at the top of Area II., what resembles an asterisk, observed more distinctly on an obolus of 167.

XXIII.

AL-MAHDI MUHAMMED.

SILVER, An. 162.

I. AREA. First symbol.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بمدينه
السلام سنه اثنين و ستين ومية

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in Urbe Pacis (*Baghdâd*) anno 162 (778).

II. AREA.

II. AREA. محمد رسول الله صلي الله
• عليه وسلم الخليفه المهدي

SILVER, An. 162.

Muhammed est legatus Dei, cui sit benedictio Dei et pax. *Khalifah Al-Mahdi.* •

MARGIN. Second symbol. (1 dw. 17 gr.)

This is the earliest dirhem of the collection in which the name of the sovereign is expressed,(1) and the first coin that exhibits the title of *khalifah* or khalif, signifying vice-gerent (of the Prophet), instead of that of *Amir al-mûmenin*, or Commander of the Faithful, which had been the customary designation, Here also we perceive the first instance of the formulary benediction being subjoined to the name of *Muhammed.* At the bottom of Area II. is a remarkable point (if its size do not render that term inapplicable) adverted to by the Arabian writer, *Makrizi*, who says, that in the year 158, *Al-Mahdi* "caused a round die to be formed in which there was a dot or point, نقطه." He began his reign in that year, and died in 169. A considerable change is here apparent in the style of the engraving, the characters, though neat and legible, being meagre or hair-shaped.

XXIV.

AL-MAHDI.

I. AREA. First symbol.

SILVER, An. 164.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بمدينه
السلام سنه اربع وستين ومیه

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in Urbe Pacis (*Baghdád*), anno 164 (780).

II. AREA. As in preceding dirhem of 162. •

MARGIN. Second symbol. (1 dw. 20 gr.)

This

(1) In the Monete Cufiche a similar dirhem of the preceding year (161) is described.

SILVER, An. 164. This dirhem differs in nothing from the preceding, excepting the date, and that the characters have more body.

XXV.

AL-MAHDI.

COPPER, An. 1(6)4.

I. AREA. First symbol.

MARGIN. غرب .... سنه اربع ... ين ومیه

Cuditur .... anno 1-4 (780?)

II. AREA and MARGIN. Second symbol.

The decimal word in the date of this copper coin being much defaced, there may be a doubt whether it is meant to express 60 or 30; but as the former seems the more probable, I have arranged it as belonging to the year 164, rather than 134. The character has a resemblance to that of the following dinar, of 165, whilst, on the other hand, the style of the legend corresponds more nearly to the obolus of 139, above described; though differing from it in the omission of the formulary words بسم الله at the commencement of one sentence and of كله at the end of another. The name of the place, obliterated, should doubtless be مصر *Misr*.

XXVI.

AL-MAHDI.

GOLD, An. 165

I. AREA. First symbol.

MARGIN. Second symbol.

II. AREA.

II. AREA. محمد رسول الله — GOLD, An. 165.

Muhammed est legatus Dei.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر
سنه خمس وستين ومیه

In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius, anno 165 (781).
(2 dw. 13 gr. 2 dw. 12½ gr.)

It may be observed that although under the successive khalifs some variety has been introduced in the silver and copper money, the gold coinage retains the same inscription, without mention of the place or name of the sovereign; nor does the form of the character differ materially from that of the earliest dinars. Of this specimen there are duplicates.

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XXVII.

AL-MAHDI.

I. AREA. First symbol. — COPPER, An. 165.

II. AREA. محمد رسول الله ? مرده

Muhammed est legatus Dei. *Mardeh?*

MARGIN. مما امربه المهدي محمد امير المومنين
بالكوفه سنه خمس وستين ومیه

Ex mandato *Al-Mahdi Muhammed*, imperator fidelium, in *Kufah*, anno 165 (781).

In describing an obolus of the year 160, some doubt was expressed as to the word مهدي *Mahdi*, at the bottom of Area II. On this coin the word seems rather to be intended for مرده or هرده, and from analogy we are warranted in the supposition of its being the name of the mint-master or of the person to whom the khalif deputed his authority for coining this denomination of money. It may be remarked that the term فلس *fels* or obolus does not appear on the copper pieces of this reign.

XXVIII.

XXVIII.

AL-MAHDI.

GOLD, An. 166.

I. AREA. First symbol.

MARGIN. Second symbol.

II. AREA. محمد رسول الله

Muhammed est legatus Dei.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر
سنه ست وستين و ميه

In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius, anno 166 (782). (2 dw. 17½ gr.)

This dinar, in a perfect state of preservation, differs in nothing but the date from those which precede it.

XXIX.

AL-MAHDI.

COPPER, An. 166.

I. AREA. First symbol.

MARGIN. مهدي ? ضرب بمدينه السلام
سنه ست وستين و ميه

Mahdi? Cuditur? in urbe pacis (*Baghdád*) anno 166 (782).

II. AREA. الخليفه المهدي محمد امير المومنين

Khalifah Al-Mahdi Muhammed, imperator fidelium.

MARGIN. بسم الله محمد رسول الله
صلي الله عليه وسلم

In nomine Dei. Muhammed est legatus Dei, cui sit benedictio Dei et pax.

The duplicate specimens of this copper coin having been in circulation and much worn, some of the characters are rendered nearly illegible. The

The word in the margin of I. which from analogy should be ضرب, is particularly indistinct and uncertain. In the area of II. we find the titles of khalif and commander of the faithful united for the first time. The marginal inscription is unusual, and seems to be ill-connected; as if the engraver had begun a sentence not appropriated to that denomination of coin, and changed it for another. COPPER, An. 166.

XXX.

AL-MAHDI.

I. AREA. First symbol. ••

COPPER, An. 167.

II. AREA. محمد رسول الله بردة *

Muhammed est legatus Dei. *Bardeh?*

MARGIN. مما امربه المهدي محمد امير المومنين
بالكوفه سنه سبع وستين ومیه

Ex mandato *Al-Mahdi Muhammed* imperator fidelium, in *Kufah*, anno 167 (783).

The word in the area of II. which in the obolus of 160 was mistaken for مهدي *Mahdi*, and on a subsequent specimen appeared to be مردة *Mardeh*, is here more distinct than on any former coin, but from the inherent ambiguity of some of the Cufic letters it is still difficult to pronounce with certainty on a proper name, where no assistance is furnished by the context or derived from the history of the period. The latter syllable ده *deh* may be considered as certain, and there is little doubt of the second letter being ر *r*, but whether the first be a ب *b* (as seems most probable), or one of those characters which in the modern writing are distinguished from it by the position of the diacritical points, I am not enabled to determine with any degree of confidence.

We here find another instance of the asterisk on one side and double point or dot on the other; which are peculiar to the mint of *Kufah*.

XXXI.

XXXI.

AL-MAHDI.

SILVER, An. 168.

I. AREA. First symbol.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بمدينة
السلام سنه ثمان وستين ومیه

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in Urbe Pacis (*Baghdâd*), anno 168 (784).

II. AREA. محمد رسول الله صلي الله
عليه وسلم الخليفه المهدي •

Muhammed est legatus Dei, cui sit benèdictio Dei et pax.
Khalifah Al-Mahdi.

MARGIN. Second symbol. (1 dw. 21 gr.)

In this dirhem the Cufic character has lost much of its beauty. Long parallel lines in the body of some of the letters, seeming to touch, form thick, inelegant strokes that scarcely resemble writing. It is apparent that some of the dirhems, and this among others, of the khalifs *Al-Mamûn* and *Al-Rashíd*, have been gilt, and probably with the view of making them pass among the vulgar for dinars. The gilding, however, is nearly worn off, and only a yellow hue remains.

XXXII.

AL-MAHDI.

SILVER, An. 168.

I. AREA. First symbol.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمديه
سنه ثمان وستين ومیه

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in *Muhammedíah*, anno 168 (784).

II. AREA.

II. AREA. الخليفه المهدي مما امربه موسي ولي‌عهد المسلمين سن

SILVER, An. 168.

Khalifah-Al-Mahdi. Ex mandato *Mûsa* hæredis designati fœderis muslemorum.

MARGIN. Second symbol. (1 dw. 19 gr.)

This dirhem, which in the form of the character and the remains of gilding, bears a near resemblance to the last, exhibits in its legend some striking peculiarities. The khalif *Al-Mahdi*, towards the close of his reign,(1) with the view, as it would seem, of securing the succession to his son *Mûsa-al-Hadi*, caused the name of the latter, as the appointed heir of the empire, to be joined with his own in the inscription on his silver coinage.(2) This interpretation of the words ولي‌عهد is justified by the authority of Meninski, who employs the terms of "designatus ad successionem," "designatus hæres," and is more applicable to the circumstances, than that of "tutor fœderis," however literal the translation.(3) Where a second heir had been appointed in remainder, we find, on other coins, the words ولي ولي‌عهد successor successoris, hæres hæredis imperii sive fœderis (muslemorum). The mint-mark under the name has the appearance of the letters سن or سر.

A difference of opinion prevails with respect to the place to which the name of محمديه *Muhammediah* belonged. The most common supposition attributes it to a particular division or suburb of the great city of *Baghdâd*; but the coincidence of date between this and the coin last described, affords a presumption of the contrary, amounting nearly to proof; for it cannot, without the most direct evidence, be admitted that

(1) He died in 169. Abulfeda says in 168; but this is disproved by the context in his own work, and the error is admitted by his commentator.

(2) Yet we are told that *Harûn*, the younger of his two sons, was his favourite. "Le Calife," says Marigny, "proposa d'abdiquer la couronne en sa faveur; mais *Haroun* ne vouluf jamais y consentir: de sorte que *Mahadi* désigna son fils aîné pour son successeur; et dans l'acte qui fut dressé à ce sujet, il regla qu'après *Hadi*, la couronne tomberoit à *Haroun*, et n'iroit point aux enfans de son fils ainé." Hist. des Arabes, t. iii, p. 62.

(3) "Chalifatum enim, a Muhammede successoribus traditum, et ab uno ad alterum propagatum, fœdus vel testamentum Muslemorum appellant, unde is, qui futurus Chalifæ successor constituitur, ولي العهد tutor fœderis audit." Adler, Collect. nova num. Cufic orum, p. 20.

SILVER, An. 168. two coins of the same denomination should, in the same year, be struck by the same prince, in two districts of his capital, under distinct names.(3) The site of *Muhammediah* must therefore be looked for elsewhere; but it will probably be found at no great distance from the seat of government. As the name does not occur at an earlier period, we may suppose the city, suburb, or palace (as variously conjectured) to have been built by this khalif and called after his own original name of *Muhammed*.

XXXIII.

AL-MAHDI.

COPPER, An. 169

I. AREA. First symbol.

II. AREA. * محمد رسول الله مهدي

Muhammed est legatus Dei. *Mamadi.*

MARGIN. مما امربه المهدي محمد اميرالمومنين
بالكوفه سنه تسع وستين ومیه

Ex mandato *Al-Mahdi Muhammed* imperator Fidelium, in *Kufah*, anno 169 (785).

This copper coin (of which there are duplicates) is sufficient evidence of the reign of *Al-Mahdi* having extended into the year 169. The name on the area of the reverse, supposed to be that of the superintendant of the mint, appears here to be written مهدي.

XXXIV.

(3) Yet S. de Sacy, for whose critical judgment I have the greatest respect, says, "Il semble, par le texte de Makrizi, que c'est Bagdad même qui a été nommé *Mohammédia*." Traité des monn. musulm, p. 30. Castiglioni also, who finds it on a coin of 162, sanctions the opinion of its being the appellation of one of the quarters of the city of Baghdad, and observes that the mint-mark is the same as on other money of that capital.

XXXIV.

موسي الهادي *MÛSA AL-HADI.*

Fourth Abbassite khalif.

I. AREA. First symbol. SILVER, An. 169.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بمحمديه
سنه تسع وستين ومیه

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in *Muhammediah*, anno 169 (785).

II. AREA. ○ محمد رسول الله

Muhammed est legatus Dei.

MARGIN. Second symbol. (1 dw. 20 gr.)

In the legend of the preceding dirhem we have seen that *Mûsà Al-hadi* coined money as heir apparent to the khalifat, under the authority of his father. This, on the other hand, was struck by him subsequently to his accession, but in the course of that year (169) in the first month of which his father died. As he himself reigned only fourteen months and died in 170, the specimens of his coinage are extremely rare, and this dirhem is the only one in the Collection.(1) He was succeeded by his brother, the celebrated *Harûn al-Rashîd.*

(1) They were so rare as to be unknown even to the early Arabian writers. " On ne connoît pas," says Makrizi, " de type monétaire de *Mousa Alhadi*, fils de *Mohammed Almahdi*." Traité des monnoies, &c. p. 29. Yet in the Göttingen Collection there is a dirhem of this khalif, with the date of 170. In describing it my learned friend T. C. Tychsen makes the following remark. " Hujus Chalifæ, Abbassidarum quarti, qui post breve 14 mensium imperium veneno periit, nulli adhuc innotuerunt numi, adeoque hic pro unico habendus. Cusus est ultimo imperii anno, quo ei successit Harun Raschid frater." De num. Cuf. Comm. I. p. 118. This Göttingen specimen has the advantage of mine, not only in point of preservation, but as exhibiting the name and title of the khalif, which are here only inferred from the date and place of coinage.

XXXV.

هرون الرشيد *HARÛN AL-RASHÎD,*

Fifth Abbassite khalif.

SILVER, An. 172.

I. AREA. First symbol.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمحمديه
سنه اثنين وسبعين ومیه

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in *Muhammedîah*, anno 172 (788).

II. AREA. حارب محمد رسول الله الخليفه الرشيد
مما امربه محمد بن امير المومنين كن

Bellator. Muhammed est legatus Dei. *Khalifah Al-Rashîd.* Ex mandato *Muhammed* filii principis fidelium.

MARGIN. Second symbol. (1 dw. 21 gr.)

This dirhem, coined in the second year after the accession of the celebrated *Harûn al Rashîd* to the khalifat, and which appears to have been subsequently gilt,(1) is more than usually circumstantial in its inscription. Besides his own name it bears that of *Muhammed*, his son, then an infant, but whom, in the year 175, by a solemn act, he appointed his heir, and who in the event succeeded him by the name of *Al-Amîn Muhammed.*

The word at the top of Area II. which has the appearance of حارب *hareb*, may signify (as the equivalent of محارب *me-hareb*, from حرب bellum) bellator, in allusion to the triumphs obtained by the khalif, in this year, over the Greek empress Irene; or it may stand for امير الحرب, the

(1) In this opinion of the silver coin having been gilt, I perceive, from the following passage in Pinkerton's Essay on Medals, that I may have been deceived. " Silver coins," he says, " often acquire a particular yellow tarnish, which gives them quite the appearance of having been gilt, but it is only owing to their being deposited in a soil whence a peculiar vapour arises, or the like circumstance." Vol. I. p. 166.

the title of the war-minister: and this, from analogy, seems the more probable. The characters at the bottom of the same Area, which seem to be ركن, convey no obvious meaning, and may be only a mint-mark. SILVER, An. 172.

XXXVI.

HARÛN AL-RASHÎD.

GOLD, An. 173.

I. AREA.	First symbol.
MARGIN.	Second symbol.
II. AREA.	محمد رسول الله
	Muhammed est legatus Dei.
MARGIN.	بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر
	سنه ثلث وسبعين ومية

In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius anno 173 (789). (2 dw. 9½ gr.)

For this dinar, coined in the fourth year of the khalifat of *Harûn*, I am indebted to the kindness of Colonel Fitz Clarence, who procured it in Egypt. In its general appearance it resembles the dinars of *Mahdi's* reign, but the lines which form the characters seem to be composed of dots; and its weight is less by three or four grains. It may be remarked that the letter ض of ضرب has nearly the shape of the modern character.

In the original part of this collection was a counterfeit dinar, in brass, most nearly representing the coin here described, the workmanship of which is not in any respect inferior to that of the original.

XXXVII.

XXXVII.

HARÛN AL-RASHÎD.

GOLD, An. 177.

I. AREA. First symbol.

MARGIN. Second symbol.

II. AREA. محمد رسول الله

Muhammed est legatus Dei.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر

سنه سبع و سبعين ومیه

In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius anno 177 (793). (2 dw. 14 gr.)

In the form of the characters and style of engraving, this dinar resembles the one last described, as well as those of the preceding reigns.

XXXVIII.

HARÛN AL-RASHÎD, IN THE NAME OF HIS SON *AL-AMÎN-MUHAMMED.*

SILVER, An. 182.

I. AREA. First symbol.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالبصرة

سنه اثنين و ثمانين ومیه

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in *Basrah,* anno 182 (798).

II. AREA. محمد رسول الله مما امربه الامير الامين

محمد بن امير المومنين جعفر

Ex mandato principis *Al-Amín Muhammed,* filii imperatoris Fidelium. *Jâfar.*

MARGIN. Second symbol. (1 dw. 20 gr.)

This khalif, who is perhaps better known to the European world from the inimitable tales of the Thousand and one nights than from the page of

of Arabian history, judged it expedient (as has been observed) to give notoriety to his declaration that his son *Al-Amîn Muhammed* should be his successor in the empire, by the coinage of money bearing his name. In this inscription indeed the father is designated by his title only, whilst the name of the heir apparent is given at full length. It contains also the distinguished name of *Jâfar*, the son of *Yahia al-Barmaki*, so celebrated for his talents, his unbounded influence with his master, and his unfortunate end.(1) In this year 182, his father relinquished to him the situation of Vizir, which, in 183, he also resigned in favour of his elder brother *Fadhel*, in order that, unembarrassed by the cares of administering the government, he might enjoy without interruption the society and friendship of the khalif, whose sister, in 184, he was encouraged to marry. Such, however, is the mutability of fortune, that in the year 186 (or first month of 187) he was put to death by order of his capricious sovereign, and the family of the *Barmaki* or Barmecides exterminated. SILVER, An. 182.

This specimen, together with two of the Samanian dynasty, were dug up, in the latter part of the last century, at a village called Dean, twelve miles from Keswick, in Cumberland, and passed into the possession of the late Mr. Miles, from whom I purchased them. It is the earliest in the collection from the mint of *Basrah*. The character is perfectly distinct, and approaches in neatness to what we have on the dirhems struck under the former race of khalifs. Amongst the coins described by Hallenberg is one (n. IX) of the preceding year, from the mint of *Muhammedîah*, but in every other respect corresponding to the inscription on this dirhem.

XXXIX.

(1) Haroun Alraschid fut le premier entre les khalifes qui renonça à surveiller par lui-même la fabrication de la monnoie. Avant lui les khalifes exerçoient en personne l'inspection sur la fabrication des dinars et des dirhems. Ce fut une des choses qui contribuèrent le plus à illustrer le nom de Djafar ben-Yahya Abarméki, aucun autre avant lui n'ayant joui du même privilége. Traité des monn. musulm. p. 31.

XXXIX.

HARÛN AL-RASHÎD.

GOLD, An. 183.

I. AREA. First symbol.

MARGIN. Second symbol.

II. AREA. محمد رسول الله جعفر

Muhammed est legatus Dei. *Jàfar.*

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر
سنه ثلث وثمنين و ميه

In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius anno 183 (799). (2 dw. 13 gr.)

On this dinar of 183 we again find the name of *Jâfar*, who in the course of that year resigne his office of Vizir and probably of superintendant of the mint also. It may be remarked as the first gold coin in the collection in which any proper name is exhibited, excepting that of the Prophet. Although by being appended as an ornament the characters have lost their sharpness, the inscription is perfectly legible.

XL.

HARÛN AL-RASHÎD IN THE NAME OF HIS SON *AL-AMÎN MUHAMMED.*

GOLD, An. 186.

I. AREA. First symbol.

MARGIN. Second symbol.

II. AREA.

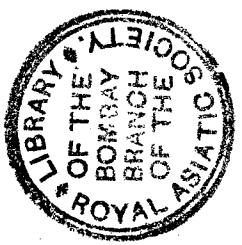
II. Area. محمد رسول الله

Muhammed est legatus Dei.

Gold, An. 186.

Inner circle. مما امربه الامير الامين
محمد بن امير المومنين

Ex mandato principis *Al-Amín Muhammed* filii imperatoris fidelium.



Margin. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر
سنه ست و ثمنين ومیه

In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius anno 186 (802). (2 dw. 11 gr.)

In this dinar the name of the minister no longer appears; but here for the first time on any gold coin, we find the name of the prince under whose auspices it was struck; not indeed of the sovereign, but of the heir apparent, as particularly noticed in the dirhem of 182. This specimen disproves the observation of O. G. Tychsen, that the delegated authority for coining was exercised on the silver only, and not on the gold money.(1) It is also the first coin which exhibits a double circular inscription.

XLI.

HARÛN AL-RASHÎD.

I. Area. First symbol.

Silver, An. 188.

Margin. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بمدينه
السلام سنه ثمان وثمنين ومیه

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in Urbe Pacis (*Baghdád*), anno 188 (803).

II. Area.

(1) "Nomina filiorum, Calipharum hæredum, solummodo Drachmis seu argenteis, non autem aureis, et, ni fallor, aereis, teste Elmacino, p. 149, inscribebantur, cujus asserti veritatem numi ipsi tuentur."

SILVER, An. 188.

II. AREA. ٥ محمد رسول الله

Muhammed est legatus Dei.

MARGIN. Second symbol. (1 dw. 20½ gr.)

This dirhem, in the disposition and matter of its inscriptions, resembles that of 157, in the reign of *Al-Mansur*, and does not contain the name of either prince or minister.(1) At the conclusion of the short symbol on Area II. appears a character resembling the final ﺳ or ﺴ, which is probably a mint-mark. The legend is neat and perfectly distinct.

XLII.

HARÛN AL-RASHÎD.

SILVER, An. 190.

I. AREA. First symbol.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم
بافريقيه سنه تسعين ومیه

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in *Afrikiah*, anno 190 (805.)

II. AREA. غلب محمد رسول الله صلي الله عليه
وسلم مما امربه الامير المومنين .....

Triumphans. Muhammed est legatus Dei, cui sit benedictio Dei et pax. Ex mandato imperatoris fidelium, ...

MARGIN. ..... ارسله بالهدي ودين
الحق ليظهره .....

Second symbol, imperfect. (1 dw. 14½ gr.)

With

tuentur." G. O. Tychsen, Introd. p. 71. In his "Additamentum," p. 18, he gives the legend of a coin of the same year, struck under the delegated authority of the same khalif, at Basrah, but with the name of *Jàfar* superadded.

(1) "Ce fut Alfadhl ben-Rébia qui succéda, en l'an 187, à Djafar, dans la place de visir, après que Djafar eut été tué par ordre de Haroun Alraschid." Traité de monn. musulm. p. 32.

With respect to the name of *Afrîkîah* as a place of coinage, which appears on this dirhem, although with imperfect distinctness, see the remarks on a coin of the year 113. At the top of the sentence in Area II. stands a word the characters of which, on the contrary, are sufficiently plain, but which, from the defective nature of the Cufic alphabet, may be read either غلب *ghalb*, vincit, triumphans, علي *Alî*, a proper name, or علي *âla*, the preposition super, per. If the first, it may have reference to the victories obtained in this year over the Greek emperor Nicephorus: if the last, it may apply to the agency of the superintendant of the mint, whose name at bottom is obliterated. SILVER, An. 190.

The surface of this dirhem, which is also lighter in weight than others of the same class, seems to shew that it was cast, and not struck.

XLIII.

HARÛN AL-RASHÎD.

I. AREA. First symbol. SILVER, An. 191

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بمدينة
السلام سنه احدي وتسعين ومية

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in Urbe Pacis (*Baghdâd*), anno 191 (806).

II. AREA. o محمد رسول الله

Muhammed est legatus Dei.

MARGIN. Second symbol. (1 dw. 20½ gr.)

This neat dirhem is in good preservation, but does not present any peculiarity. The final ـس, as a mint-mark, corresponds with that of 188, struck in the same city; and the two coins are of precisely the same weight.

XLIV.

HARÛN AL-RASHÎD.

COPPER, An. 191?

I. AREA. First symbol.

MARGIN. .....بالكوفه سنه

.....احدي و.....و.....

.....in *Kufah*, anno (19)1 (806).

II. AREA. Common short symbol.

MARGIN. .....منين علي يدي ..... مما امربه

Ex mandato .....delium, sub administratione.....

In the legend of this obolus some novelty presents itself; but it happens that although the specimen is, generally, in excellent preservation, some material parts are obliterated. Of the date, no portion excepting the unit is strictly legible, yet the decimal word, تسعين 90, is faintly to be distinguished, and the shortness of the remaining space shews that the word denoting the century is in the singular number. The pure form of the character, also, affords a presumption of its not being later than the end of the second Mahometan century.

The marginal inscription of II. is imperfect, and the words that do appear are attended with difficulty. The reading of علي يدي per manum, or "under the superintendence of," cannot be doubted. Those, however, which follow, seemingly consisting of the letters عسي لمان, are unintelligible.

XLV.

HARÛN AL-RASHÎD.

GOLD, An. 192.

I. AREA. First symbol.

MARGIN. Second symbol.

II. AREA.

II. Area. محمد رسول الله الخليفه — Gold, An. 192.

Common short symbol. *Al-Khalîfah.*

Margin. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر
سنه اثنين و تسعين ومیه

In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius anno 192 (807). (2 dw. 13½ gr.)

The legend of this dinar conveys no information excepting its date. Of its being from the mint of *Baghdâd* there can be little doubt. It resembles those of 154 and 177 in the disposition of the sentences and style of the characters, but these, in the present dinar, are more decidedly composed of dots. Its chief peculiarity is its having the word *Al-Khalîfah* underneath the short symbol on Area II.

It was brought from Egypt by Lord Valentia, now Earl of Mountnorris, and obligingly imparted to me, along with some other coins.

XLVI.

HARÛN AL-RASHÎD.

I. Area. First symbol. — Silver, An. 192.

Margin. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بمدينه
السلام سنه اثنين و تسـ . . . . میه

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in Urbe Pacis (*Baghdâd*), anno 192 (807).

II. Area. Common short symbol.

Margin. Second symbol. (1 dw. 15½ gr.)

Nothing particular in the legend of this dirhem presents itself. At the bottom of Area II, under the short symbol, a hole has been pierced, for appending it to the neck, but which is so unnecessarily large as to occasion

SILVER, An. 192. sion a doubt whether a second object may not have been, to deface a name or mint-mark frequently found in that part of the coin.

XLVII.

HARÛN AL-RASHÎD.

SILVER, An. 192?

I. AREA. First symbol.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بافريقية
سنه اثنين و تسعين و مية

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in *Afrikiah*, anno 192 (807).

II. AREA. محمد محمد رسول الله ..... النصر

Muhammed. Muhammed est legatus Dei ..... *Al-Nasr.*

MARGIN. Second symbol. (1 dw. $12\frac{1}{2}$ gr.)

Neither the unit nor the decimal in the date of this dirhem is quite distinct, yet sufficient appears to render it in a high degree probable that they are intended for 92. The hundred is not questionable. For what respects the name of افريقيه *Afrikiah* as a place of coinage, the reader is again referred to the remarks on a dirhem of the year 113. It must at the same time be confessed that, as well in this coin, as in one of the year 190 (unquestionably struck in the same mint) there is some uncertainty in the second and third letters (فر), whilst the other five (يقيه ..ا) are as free from doubt as the nature of Cufic characters allows. In Area II. also, difficulties occur which are not to be overcome without the aid of other corresponding specimens. The name or word which forms a line immediately under the short symbol, and which seems to contain the letters هـمه or حـمه, is obscure;(1) and although that beneath

(1) Reiske speaks of a coin of the same province (erroneously described by Kehr, who appears not to have well understood his subject) in the following words: "Die Aufschrift der Münze sagt,

beneath it is apparently the proper name *Al-Nasr*, it cannot be pronounced upon with confidence. Such, however, it has been read by others, on coins about the same period.(2) This probably ought to follow in connexion with the word محمد *Muhammed* at the top of that area. SILVER, An. 192?

XLVIII.

HARÛN AL-RASHÎD.

I. AREA. First symbol. SILVER, An. 193.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بمدينة
بخارا سنه ثلث و تسعين و مية

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in urbe *Bokhára*, anno 193 (808).

II. AREA. ... يه محمد رسول الله ع

Short symbol, with preceding and following characters.

MARGIN. Second symbol, nearly obliterated. (1 dw. 21½ gr.)

The unit in the date of this much defaced dirhem appears to be ثلث "three;" but the reading is liable to some doubt. In the course of that year it was that *Harún* (whose unrelenting severity, under the name of justice, threw a dark shade over his many eminent qualities) died at a place

sagt, sie sey geschlagen worden بافريقية zu Africa, in Jahre ثمنين ومية 180 (Christi 796), von هرثمة *Hartsamah* (*Harthămah*). Africa war die Hauptstadt der Provinz, die mit ihr gleichen Namen führt. *Hartsamah*, der Sohn *Ajan*, ein berühmter General, unter dem *Al-Mamun*, war in Jahr 180 Landpfleger von Africa." It may be inferred that the doubtful name on this dirhem of 192, should be that of one of the successors of *Harthămah*, who quitted the African command in 181.

(2) In numis sub ejus (sc. Aaronis Raschidi) imperio conflatis occurrunt quoque nomina علي *Ali*, et نصر *Nassr*." O. G. Tychsen Introd. in rem Num. Muham. p. 30. The former of these words, however, seems more likely to be the preposition علي *àla*.

SILVER, An. 193. place called *Tús* طوس, in *Khorasán*, and consequently not very far from the city of *Bokhára*, where the coin was struck. In Area II. the common short symbol is preceded by what seems to be nothing more than the letter ع, and is followed by a name that may be thought to commence with د, and to end with ية; but so much has the specimen suffered, that no satisfactory conjecture can be formed of the whole word. The characters are large, not well formed, and have a peculiar appearance, unlike those employed in the southern mints.

XLIX.

الامين محمد *AL-AMÎN MUHAMMED BEN AL-RASHÎD,*

Sixth Abbassite khalif.

GOLD, An. 195.

I. AREA. First symbol.

MARGIN. Second symbol.

II. AREA. الخليفه محمد رسول الله الامين

Khalífah. Muhammed est legatus Dei. *Al-Amín.*

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر
سنه خمس وتسعين ومیه

In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius, anno 195 (810). (2 dw. 15½ gr.)

Al-Amîn Muhammed, whose name, accompanied with an expression of delegated authority (either to or from himself), had frequently appeared on the coinage of his father, having succeeded him in the year 193, we here find the name without any addition but that of his title of *khalífah.* The inscription, according to the practice that had for some time prevailed, might have been expected to contain also that of the heir apparent, and especially under the circumstances of a disputed succession. *Harún al-Rashíd* had designated his younger son, *Al-Mamún,* to this reversionary inheritance; but *Al-Amîn,* under the influence of his intriguing vizir *Fadhel ben Rabia,* had

had set the solemn disposition of their father aside, and in 194, when in open hostility with his brother, had nominated his own son *Mûsa* موسي, an infant, to succeed him in the empire of the Faithful. GOLD, An. 195.

The relative position of the words الخليفه and الامين shews that we may be justified in other instances, where the construction and sense require it, in connecting the word which precedes with that which follows the short symbol. It may be inferred that this and all other gold coins (from about the year 150) wherein the place is not named, were struck at *Baghdâd*, the capital.(1)

L.

المامون *AL-MAMÛN BEN-AL-RASHÎD*

Seventh Abbassite khalif.

I. AREA. First symbol. الشرفي *Al-Sherfi.* GOLD, An. 200.

MARGIN. Second symbol.

II. AREA. لله طاهر محمد رسول الله ذواليمينين

Per Deum, *Taher:* Muhammed est legatus Dei. Ambidexter.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر
بمصر في سنه ميتين

In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius in *Misr*, anno 200 (815).

(2 dw. 14 gr.)

Al-Mamûn, upon the defeat and death of his elder brother *Al-Amîn* (who had made attempts to secure his person and prevent his succession, as established by *Al-Rashîd*), obtained possession of the khalifat, in 198, two years before the date of this coin. We are informed by the native historians

(1) In describing a dinar of this khalif coined in 190, T. C. Tychsen says: "Alius hujus principis aureus mihi non innotuit." p. 121. This collection possesses no fewer than five.

GOLD, AD. 200. historians that upon this occasion no artist could immediately be found in Baghdad, who was capable of engraving the new dies, and accordingly there is not known to exist any dinar of this khalif of a date prior to the year 200. Yet it is also stated that having in 195 declared himself independent in his principality of *Khorasân*, he ordered his own name to be substituted for that of *Al-Amín* on the provincial coinage. This dinar, it appears, was struck in the capital of Egypt, and is the first that expresses the name of the place; as it is likewise the first in which the word سنة "anno" is governed by the preposition في "in."

The title of *Al-Sherfî*, "the noble" or "the descendant of the Prophet," at the bottom of Area I. may be presumed to designate the khalif himself, inasmuch as on a dirhem of the same year (described by Reiske and Eichhorn, Repertorium, p. 268), which has a general resemblance in its legend to this coin, the name of *Al-Mamûn* is found to occupy the space, at the end of the first symbol, which is here filled with the princely epithet.

But the most curious feature of the inscription, as it respects the history of the period, is the name of طاهر *Taher*, with his sur-name or epithet of ذو اليمينين *Dzu'l yemînîn* or Ambidexter, which occupy the top and bottom of Area II.(1) He is known to have been the most distinguished commander of his time, and mainly instrumental in raising *Al-Mamûn* to the khalifat; for which important service he was rewarded with the hereditary government of *Khorasân* and every mark of dignity that his grateful master could bestow; including that of placing his name on the gold coinage.(2) It cannot at the same time escape observation that in the dirhem above referred to there are symptoms of a rivalship between him and the visir *Al-Fadhel ben Sahal*, the favourite of *Al-Mamûn*,

(1) "Altero carebat oculo, sed erat ambidexter, unde agnomen *Du-l-Jaminain* accepit." Abulf. Annales, t. II. p. 141.

(2) "La magnificence avec laquelle il récompensa les services de *Thaher*, son Général, et la confiance sans réserve qu'il eut pour son premier Ministre, furent deux fautes essentielles qui lui attirerent les plus cruels chagrins. *Mamon*, au-lieu de traiter son Général comme un homme pour lequel il avoit la plus haute estime, mais cependant toujours comme un de ses sujets, le fit, pour ainsi dire, son égal; ou ce qui revient au même, il le mit en situation de lui disputer un jour la souveraineté." Marigny, Histoire des Arabes, t. III. p. 156.

Al-Mamûn, who is understood to be there designated by the epithet of ذولرياستين "præditus duobus officiis, s. rebus civilibus et bellicis præfectus,"(1) preceded in the same manner by the word لله signifying "gratiâ Dei." GOLD, An. 200.

LI.

AL-MAMÛN.

I. AREA. First symbol. عبدالله بن الهر..
Abd-allah ben Al-Har(ûn). GOLD, An. 207.

MARGIN. Second symbol.

II. AREA. الخليفه محمد رسول الله المامون
Al-Khalîfah. Muhammed est legatus Dei. *Al-Mamûn.*

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينرسنه سبع و ميتين

In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius anno 207 (822). (2 dw. 7¼ gr.)

Although in the coinage of these people, who had scruples with respect to every kind of effigy, there is not in general a direct mode of determining which face is the obverse and which the reverse, as in European coins and medals, yet I have hitherto found it most appropriate to consider that side as the Obverse which contained the First Mahometan symbol, so termed from its having uninterruptedly, from the earliest times, occupied one of the Areas. Here, however, there appears to be a necessity for changing the order, and for considering that symbol as placed on the Reverse; it being evident that the effective words of the inscription (disregarding the formulary sentences) must be thus read: "*Al-Khalîfah Al-Mamûn Abd-allah ben Al-Harûn*," and consequently that the face on which the abbreviated symbol appears should

 have

(1) See Abulfedæ Annales, t. II, p. 101. and O. G. Tychsen, Introd. in rem Num. Muhamm. p. 30.

GOLD, An. 207. have the precedence.(1) With respect to the name of *Abd-allah* as belonging to *Al-Mamûn*, we find authority for it both in Abulfarage and Al-Makin, although not given to him by Marigny and other popular historians.(2) The deficiency of two letters at the end of the patronymic is to be attributed to the want of space, rather than to obliteration. Something, indeed, of a contracted ون may be perceived. The characters partake of what may be termed the dotted style; and the final ن of المامون is remarkable in being formed nearly as the modern letter.

LII.

AL-MAMÛN.

COPPER, An. 208.

I. AREA. First symbol.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلس
بالكوفه سنه ثمان ومايتين

In nomine Dei cuditur hic obolus in *Kufah*, anno 208 (823).

II. AREA. مر.. محمد رسول الله عدل

Mar ... Short symbol. *Adil.*

MARGIN. Second symbol.

Above

(1) The learned Reiske expresses the same doubt as to the intention of the Arabian die-sinkers, if, in fact, it was not with them a matter of indifference; but, as a general rule, he professes to consider that side as the obverse, or I., which contains the first part of the profession of faith. See Repertorium f. Bibl. und Morgenl. Literat. Xr. Theil, p. 233.

(2) " Fidem præstari jussit fratri suo Abu Isaaco Al-Motasemo, scribique literas in provincias, ab *Abdalla Al-Mamune* imperatore Fidelium, et fratre ipsius, in Chalifatu successore, Abu Isaaco Al-Motasemo ebn Harun Al-Rashid." Historia Dynastiarum, p. 159. " Septimus Abbasidarum et Chalifa vigesimus octavus Abulabbas Almamon, qui et Abugiafar *Abdalla* dictus fuit, f. Haronis Rasjidi." Saracenica Historia, Lib. II. cap. VIII. It appears also on two dirhems, of the years 186 and 190, described by Adler, Collectio nova num. Cuf. p. 20. 22.

Above the short symbol in Area II. of this neat *fels* or obolus, appears a name of which the first two letters are distinctly مر, but the remaining two, although not much defaced, and resembling فق, are doubtful.(1) It is probably meant to stand in connexion with the word عدل, signifying "just" or "justice," at the bottom of the same area, and may belong to the officer who then held the government of *Kufah*, where it was coined, although the annals of the period do not furnish a clue by which he can be identified. The name or title of the khalif forms no part of the inscription. COPPER, An. 208.

It may be remarked that in the date of the first coin of this third Mahometan century (an. 200), the orthography of the numeral word is clearly ميتين; in a coin of 207 it is doubtful from the excision of the tops of the letters; but in this of 208, we distinctly read مايتين. Upon the same principle the word for 'hundred,' which in the older coins is ميه (without the ا *alif*,) becomes مايه in the more recent. The lexicon of Golius exhibits both these modes of spelling.

LIII.

الامين محمد *AL-AMÎN MUHAMMED,*

Seventh Abbassite khalif.

I. AREA. First symbol. COPPER, An.(209?)

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلس

بواسط سنه ..... ومیه

In nomine Dei cuditur hic obolus in *Waset*, anno . . . .

II. AREA.

(1) Castiglioni (n. XXXVI.) supposes this name to be موفق *Muaffik;* but the second letter is assuredly ر *r*, and the word should therefore be مرفق, which signifies, according to Meninski, "benignum et facilem esse."

COPPER, An.(209)?

II. AREA. سلام محمد رسول الله سعيد

MARGIN. مما امربه الامير الامين ... مسلمين

Pax. Muhammed est legatus Dei. *Sàïd.*

Ex mandato imperatoris *Al-Amín* ... ... fidelium.

The defects in the date of this copper piece, where only the word for 'one hundred' remains, are in some measure supplied by our knowledge of the years of the khalif's reign under whose authority it was struck, and which were comprehended between 193 and 198. The word سلام at the top of Area II. generally used as an invocation of peace, is here peculiar. The word سعيد at the bottom, signifies 'fortunate, happy,' and being also a common proper name may have been that of the governor of *Waset*:(1) It must at the same time be observed that the letter س of this word is not free from doubt.

LIV.

AL-MAMÛN IN THE NAME OF HIS SON العباس *AL-ABBÂS.*

SILVER, An. 218.

I. AREA. First symbol.

INNER CIRCLE. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بمدينه
ارّان سنه ثمان‌عشره ومايتين

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in urbe *Arân*, anno 218 (833).

MARGIN. لله الامر من قبل ومن بعد ويومئذ
يفرح المومنون بنصر الله ○

Deo est imperium antehac et in futurum; et tunc lætabantur Fideles in auxilio divino.

II. AREA.

(1) "Alamin (says Makrizi) confia les hôtels des monnoies à Alabbas ben-Afadhl ben Alrébia." Traité des monn. musulm. p. 32. This name does not appear upon either of his two coins in this Collection.

II. AREA. العباس بن محمد رسول الله امير المومنين عي SILVER, An. 218.

Al-Abbás filius Muhammed est legatus Dei. imperatoris Fidelium.

MARGIN. Second symbol. (2 dw. 1 gr.)

This dirhem appears to have been struck by *Al-Abbás*, or under his delegated authority, in the year of his father's death: not with the assumption of any title as heir of the empire, for which he was not destined, but simply describing himself as the son of the commander of the Faithful. With regard to the place of coinage, there is none to which the characters apply, with the exception of a district on the western border of the Caspian, and a town of Mesopotamia, between Orfa and Rakka. The latter is not only the more probable in itself, but as we are informed by Abu'lfeda and Al-Makin, that in the year 213 *Al-Abbás* was appointed to the government of the latter province,(1) we may reasonably conclude that ارّان *Arran* of Mesopotamia was the town where the dirhem was struck, although the prince was along with his father in Cilicia, at the time of his death.

In the Margin of I. we find a sentence from the *korân* (*surah* xxx. 4, 5.) not before introduced on the coinage; and as this chapter is intitled الروم or "the Greeks," and *Al-Mamún* was at the time pushing his conquests in the Greek provinces, the quotation may be supposed to have an allusion to the events of that period.(1) The characters عي at the end of the inscription in Area II. appear to be a mint-mark.

(1) "Anno 213 removit Almamon Abdallam f. Taheri gubernatione Aegypti, præficiens ei fratrem suum Mutasimum, cui et Syriam commisit: filium autem suum Abbasem præfecit Mesopotamiæ, &c." Hist. Saracenica, p. 173.

(2) This passage in the Koran, as translated and commented on by Marracci, is as follows: "Dei est hoc negotium ante et post (id est, tàm victoria Persarum, quàm Romanorum). Et die illa (qua vincent Romani) lætabuntur Fideles, in auxilio Dei (erga Romanos)." Refutatio Alcorani, p. 538. It should be observed that the Persians being at this time idolaters, the Mahometans rejoiced in the victories obtained over them, even by the Greek Christians.

LV.

المعتصم بالله *AL-MÒTASEM BILLAH,*

Eighth Abbassite khalif.

GOLD, An. 219.

I. AREA. First symbol.

INNER CIRCLE. بسم الله ضرب هذالدينر بمدينه
السلام سنه تسع عشره ومايتين

In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius in Urbe Pacis (*Baghdâd*) anno 219 (834).

MARGIN. Sentence from the *korân*, as in the preceding dirhem.

II. AREA. لله محمد رسول الله المعتصم بالله

Deo. Muhammed est legatus Dei. *Al-Mòtasem Billah.*

MARGIN. Second symbol. (2 dw. 18 gr.)

Al-Mòtasem, third surviving son of *Harûn Al-Rashîd*, succeeded to the khalifat immediately on the death of his elder brother, in preference to *Al-Abbâs*, the son of the latter, conformably to the testamentary disposition of their father; and as the event took place at Tarsus in Cilicia in the latter part of the year 218, this handsome and perfect dinar of 219 may have been among the first struck after his arrival in the capital. It is the earliest gold coin upon which the name or courtly appellation of that city is expressed, as it is also the first in which the word بالله " by the grace of God," is annexed, as a title or attribute, to the name of the khalif: an example followed by almost all his successors.(1) Like the dirhem last described it contains a double circular inscription (afterwards common) as well as the sentence from *surah* xxx. of the *korân*, the first introduction of which is, by O. G. Tychsen, attributed to *Motawakkel*, the tenth khalif of this race.

(1) " Primus hic est Chalifarum, cujus titulo nomen Dei adjunctum fuit; ita ut Motasem billah appellaretur (hoc est, qui deo se munit). Quod exemplum deinceps ceteri secuti sunt." Abulfedæ Annales, t. II. p. 175.

LVI.

المتوكل علي الله *AL-MOTAWAKKEL ALA'LLAH,*

Tenth Abbasite khalif.

GOLD, An. 245.

I. AREA. First symbol. المعتز بالله *Al-Mòtaz-billah.*

INNER CIRCLE. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر بمرو
سنه خمس و اربعين ومايتين

In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius in *Meru,* anno 245 (859).

MARGIN. Sentence from *surah* XXX., as in dirhem of 218.

II. AREA. لله محمد رسول الله المتوكل علي الله

Deo. Muhammed est legatus Dei. *Al-Motawakkel Ala'llah.*

MARGIN. Second symbol. (2 dw. 18 gr.)

Motawakkel succeeded his brother *Wathek-billah,* son of *Mòtasem,* in the last month of the year 231 (according to *Al-Makin* or 232 according to Abu'lfeda), and died in 247. In the year 235 he appointed his son *Mostanser-billah* his successor in the empire, and after him, his son *Mòtaz-billah,* conferring on the latter the government of *Khorasán,* with all the northern districts of Persia. In 240 he further assigned to *Mòtaz* the superintendence of all the provincial treasuries and mints, and ordered that his name should appear on the coinage.(1) Consistently with these arrangements, in respect both to time and place, we find it upon this dinar of 245, struck at *Meru* (or *Merv* according to the Persian pronunciation) one of the principal cities under his jurisdiction. The workmanship is much inferior to that of coins from the mint of Baghdad.

(1) " Anno autem 240 assignavit ei *(Motazzo)* æraria omnium provinciarum, et officinas monetarias; jussitque nomen ejus cudi super stateribus." Historia Saracenica, p. 188.

LVII.

المستنصر بالله بن المتوكل *AL-MOSTANSER-BILLAH BEN MOTAWAKKEL,*

Eleventh Abbassite khalif.

COPPER, small, An. 247-8.

I. AREA. ..... سول الله صلي الله عليه

..... gatus Dei, cui sit pax Dei.

II. AREA. المستنصر بالله امير المومنين

Al-Mostanser-billah imperator Fidel.

This obolus or half obolus of *Mostanser* presents nothing remarkable, but is the only coin in the Collection of that short reign.

LVIII.

المعتمد علي الله *AL-MÒTAMED ALA'LLAH,*

Fifteenth Abbassite khalif.

GOLD, An. 257.

I. AREA. First symbol.

MARGIN. Second symbol.

II. AREA. غلب محمد رسول الله محمد

Vicit. Muhammed est legatus Dei. *Muhammed.*

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر سنه سبع و خمسين ومايتين

In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius anno 257 (870-1). (2 dw. 17 gr.)

As several short reigns intervened between the dates of this and of the dinar last described, it may be satisfactory to trace, in a brief manner, the events by which they were terminated respectively. *Motawakkel* became the

the victim of a conspiracy of his Turkish or Tartar guards, abetted by his eldest son, *Mostanser*, who succeeded him. Upon his death the same turbulent body raised to the khalifat, *Mostàin*, grandson of the khalif *Mòtasem*, to the exclusion of *Mòtaz* and *Mowàiad*, the brothers of *Mostanser*, who had been designated to the succession by their father. After a few years *Mostàin* was deposed in the same lawless manner, and his place supplied by *Mòtaz*, who also was forced to abdicate and was then put to death. *Mohtadi* the son of *Wathek*, a prince of rare merit, was then set up, and murdered before a year had elapsed. The Turkish guards then raised to the khalifat, *Mòtamed* the fourth son of *Motawakkel*, in the course of whose reign this foreign military despotism was subdued by the energy of his brother *Muwaffek*, who exercised in his name the functions of government. GOLD, An. 257.

In this dinar we do not find the name or title of the sovereign, although the practice of inserting the one or the other, or both, had prevailed generally from the time of *Harûn Al-Rashîd*, and it is from the date only that we can refer it to the reign of *Mòtamed*, comprised between the years 256 and 279.

The word above the short symbol, if غلب, might be supposed to allude to some victory obtained at that period, were it not that in the year 257 the mussulman arms were unsuccessful. But it is possible that instead of غلب we should read the preposition علي *dla*, which, connected with the name of *Muhammed*, may simply imply that the work was executed under the superintendence of an officer so named.(1)

(1) In a coin of the year 240, described by Reiske (Repertorium xr. Theil, p. 220) the words are considered as equivalent to علي يدي محمد per manum Muhammedis, whom he conjectures to have been a visir of that name, the son of *Al-Fadhel* the Georgian.

LIX.

LIX.

AL-MÒTAMED ALA'LLAH IN THE NAME OF HIS BROTHER AND COADJUTOR *AL-MUAFFEK BILLAH.*

SILVER, An. 265.

I. AREA. First symbol. الموفق بالله *Al-Muwaffek-billah*

INNER CIRCLE. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بمدينه
السلام سنه خمس وستين ومايتيي

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in Urbe Pacis *(Baghdád)*, anno 265 (878).

MARGIN. ..... قبل و من بعد .....

..... antehac et in futurum .....

II. AREA. لله محمد رسول الله المعتز بالله
امير المومنين

Deo s. per Deum. Muhammed est legatus Dei. *Al-Mòtaz-billah* princeps Fidelium.

MARGIN. Second symbol imperfect. (1 dw. $9\frac{1}{2}$ gr.)

It has already been remarked that during the greater part of the reign of *Mòtamed* (from 258 to 278), the government of this weak prince was administered by his brother *Muwaffek*, whom he appointed his associate in the khalifat, and we accordingly find the name of the latter on this dirhem of 265. But in respect to that of the khalif himself, there is a confusion of the most extraordinary nature, for instead of *Al-Mòtamed Ala'llah* we have the name of *Al-Mòtaz-billah*, who died ten years before, and whose brief authority had never been delegated to *Muwaffek*. The only way in which this strange anachronism can be accounted for, is by supposing that through accident or indifference, the moveable die of a former reign may, in striking this coin, have been substituted for the proper one (broken in the operation); and as the date was on the fixed die, the mistake was of the less consequence. The characters on both Areas are distinct and perfectly legible, but the execution of those on II. are evidently in a better style of engraving.

LX.

LX.

AL-MÒTAMED ALA'LLAH IN THE NAME OF HIS BROTHER *AL-MUWAFFEK-BILLAH*.

GOLD, An. 276.

I. AREA. First symbol. الموفق بالله *Al-Muwaffek-billah.*

INNER CIRCLE. بسم الله ..... وفقيه سنه
ست و سبعين و مايتين
In nomine Dei ..... anno 276 (889).

MARGIN. لله الامر ..... المومنين بنصر الله
Sentence from *surah* xxx, imperfect.

II. AREA. لله محمد رسول الله المعتمد
علي الله خمارويه بن احمد
Deo. Muhammed est legatus Dei. *Al-Mòtamed Ala'llah. Khamaruiah ben-Ahmed.*

MARGIN. Second symbol. (1 dw. 11 gr.)

Many difficulties occur in the inscription of this dinar, which differs extremely in its appearance from all that have preceded; the workmanship being much inferior and the characters rude and imperfect. Although a part of the word is obliterated, enough remains to shew that it must have been coined at a place called موفقيه *Muwaffekiah*, near the Gulf of Persia, which was built by *Muwaffek*, in the year 267.(1) His own name and that of the khalif appear of course; but beneath the latter is inserted that of *Khamaruiah ben Ahmed*, the object of which it is not easy to understand. This person was the son and successor of *Ahmed ben Tûlûn*, who, being governor of Egypt, had thrown off his allegiance and declared himself independent of the khalifat. He died in the year 270. In

(1) " Urbem extruxit, quam nominavit Muafikiam: et in eam vocavit mercatores. Aedificavit quoque in ea templum, et *aureos* in ea atque *stateres* cudit." Hist. Saracenica, p. 215. " Numorum *Muaffikiæ* cusorum (says O. G. Tychsen) ne ullum reperi vestigium." Introd. in rem. Num. p. 27.

GOLD, An. 276. In 271, *Mòtadhed*, the son of *Muwaffek*, was sent with a large force to reduce *Khamaruiah* to obedience, and a severe, yet indecisive battle was fought in Syria, when *Khamaruiah*, although his army had the advantage, fled from the field of battle. Under what circumstances, within a few years of that event, his name should have a place on the same money with that of his liege lord, is a matter not explained by the Arabian historians. Even the assistance to conjecture that might be furnished by a precise date is wanting, the word expressing the unit being indistinct and uncertain. Were it not that the reading of *Muwaffekiah* is inconsistent with the supposition, we might be induced to think that the piece was in fact struck by the Egyptian chief, who although actually independent (as we shall find in other instances) might retain the name of his sovereign on the coinage, though he resisted his authority. That no hostile feeling, however, existed in 279, appears from *Khamaruiah's* sending an embassy to the successor of *Mòtamed*, with a request that his daughter might be accepted as a wife by the son of the new khalif, or, according to some authorities, by *Mòtadhed* himself.

LXI.

AL-MÒTAMED ALA'LLAH, IN THE NAME OF HIS NEPHEW, *AL-MÒTADHED-BILLAH.*

SILVER, An. (278-9).

I. AREA. First symbol (with inverted characters). ناصر *Naser.*

MARGIN. Characters inverted and illegible.

II. AREA. لله ـ محمد رسول الله المعتمد
علىالله المعتضد بالله

Deo. Muhammed est legatus Dei. *Al-Mòtamed Ala'llah.*
Al-Mòtadhed-billah.

MARGIN. Second symbol. (2 dw.)

This dirhem properly belongs to the coins of the Samanian dynasty, and will be found amongst them; yet as exhibiting the names both of the reigning

reigning khalif and of his successor, and being the only specimen in the collection that contains the latter, it cannot be passed unnoticed in the Abbasite series. SILVER, An. (278-9)

The marginal inscription of I. where the date should appear, is quite illegible, from causes that will be explained in the proper place; but those names are so historically combined as in great measure to supply the defect; for as it was in the second month of the year 278 (according to Al-Makin) that, upon the death of *Muwaffek*, his son *Mòtadhed* was appointed successor in the khalifat to his uncle *Mòtamed* then reigning; and as *Mòtamed* died in the seventh month of 279, it follows that the dirhem containing both the names must have been struck in one or the other of those two years.

LXII.

المكتفي بالله *AL-MOKTAFI BILLAH,*

Seventeenth Abbassite khalif.

I. AREA. First symbol. SILVER, An. 290.

INNER CIRCLE. ..... بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم
سنة تسعين ومايتين

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in ..... anno 290 (902).

MARGIN. Sentence from *surah* XXX., imperfect.

II. AREA. لله محمد رسول الله المكتفي بالله

Deo. Muhammed est legatus Dei. *Al-Moktafi-billah.*

MARGIN. Second symbol, imperfect. (1 dw. 21 gr.)

Moktafi succeeded his father *Mòtadhed* in 289-902, the year preceding the date of this dirhem. The place of coinage is obliterated, but from the circumstance of its bearing simply the name of the khalif, as well as from its general resemblance to the dirhem of 265, avowedly from the mint

SILVER, An. 290. mint of *Baghdâd*, we may presume it to have been coined in the capital, and not by one of the governors of provinces, professing a nominal dependence. In his reign the power and dignity of the khalif are said to have experienced a rapid decline.

LXIII.

المقتدر بالله *AL-MOKTADER-BILLAH*,

Eighteenth Abbassite khalif.

SILVER, An. 316.

I. AREA. First symbol. ابو العباس بن امير المومنين *Abú'l-Abbás* filius imperatoris Fidelium.

INNER CIRCLE. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بواسط سنه ست عشره وثلث مايه

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in *Wâset*, anno 316 (928).

MARGIN. Sentence from *sûrah* XXX.

II. AREA. لله محمد رسول الله المقتدربالله

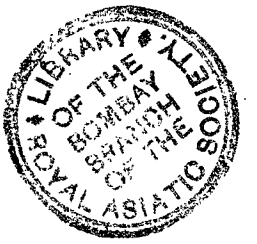
Deo. Muhammed est legatus Dei. *Al-Moktader-billah.*

MARGIN. Second symbol. (1 dw. 20 gr.)

This dirhem from the mint of *Wâset* is much superior in workmanship and general appearance to others of the same period coined either in the capital or elsewhere, and bears a comparison with those of the former dynasty.

Al-Moktader-billah, whose name it bears, succeeded his brother, the khalif *Moktafi*, in the year 295. His reign, though long, was much disturbed by the machinations of a turbulent eunuch who held him in subjection, and finally connived at his murder in 320. Desirous, as it appears, that his son named *Abú'l-Abbás* should become his successor, he adopted the usual method of promulgating his intentions by inscribing his name on the coinage; of which act nothing, I apprehend, is known but

but from this specimen. We find it corroborated, however, by a passage in the Dynasties of Abu'lfaraj, where mention is made of an abortive attempt to raise the youth to the khalifat, upon the death of his father.(1) SILVER, An. 316.



LXIV.

الراضي بالله *AL-RADHI BILLAH,*

Twentieth Abbassite khalif.

I. AREA. First symbol. GOLD, An. 328.

INNER CIRCLE. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر بمصر.....
ثمان وعشرين و ثلث مايه

In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius in *Misr* ..... 328 (939).

MARGIN. Sentence from *surah* XXX.

II. AREA. لله محمد رسول الله الراضي بالله د

Deo. Muhammed est legatus Dei. *Al-Radhi-billah.*

MARGIN. Second symbol. (2 dw. 19 gr.)

Between the reign of the khalif *Moktader* and this of *Radhi*, occurred that of *Kaher*, of whose coinage there are no specimens in the Collection.(2) *Al-Radhi-billah*, the son of *Moktader*, succeeded his uncle *Kaher* in the year 322, and died in 329. Considering the dismembered state of the empire at this period, when in general the governors of provinces had

 assumed

(1) Occiso Al-Moctadero ægrè tulit ipsius cædem Munes, dixitque, sententia mea est, ut filium ipsius Abu'l Abbasum Chalifam constituamus .... Obstitit autem ei Isaac Al-Nubachti dicens ... Nolumus equidem nisi virum maturum, qui et se et nos regat." Hist. Dynast. p. 192. In the Milan Collection there is a dirhem (n. XXXIX.) nearly similar to this, of the date of 297, being the year in which *Abú 'l-Abbas* was born.

(2) A dirhem of *Al-Kaher*, with the date of 321, appears in the Göttingen Collection.

GOLD, An. 328. assumed regal authority, we are surprised to find on a dinar struck in Egypt, no other name than that of the sovereign; but as it was in 328 that *Muhammed* surnamed *Akhshîd*, whom *Kaher* had appointed governor, established his independence in that province and in Syria, this coinage may have taken place in the early part of the same year, whilst the khalif still retained a nominal jurisdiction.(1)

The workmanship of the dinar is good, its weight superior to many of the preceding,(2) and the legends are perfect, with the exception of some double striking in the second symbol, which renders it indistinct. Underneath the name of the khalif stands the letter ه or ﻫ, probably a mint-mark, the form of which exemplifies the progress of change from the Cufic to the modern character: and it should here be remarked that this improvement of the Arabic alphabet is attributed to the learning, taste, and skill of ابن مقلة *Ibn Moklah*, the visir of *Kaher* and of *Radhi*.(3) It is not however upon the coinage of a country that we are to look for newly adopted modes of writing, and we find the Cufic style subsisting to a much later period.

(1) Après l'extinction des Tholonides (*beni Tulun*) les Califes étoient redevenus en quelque façon souverains de la Syrie et de l'Egypte; mais l'appréhension qu'ils eurent que les gouverneurs qu'ils nommeroient pour ces provinces ne tentassent encore de s'y établir en souverains, leur fit prendre le parti de changer souvent ceux à qui l'on confieroit ces gouvernemens." Histoire des Arabes, t. IV. p. 15.

(2) "Postquam *Moez* denarios suos introduxerat, et usum denariorum *Al-Radhi billah* vetuerat, pretium eorum plus quarta parte imminuebatur." O. G. Tychsen, Introduct. p. 13.

(3) "Atque hic filius Muclæ auctor fuit celebris hujus scripturæ, et primum traduxit scripturam Cufensem extraneam ad usum Arabum. Sequutus autem eum est filius Bawabi, qui adjiciens aliquid, ad perfectionem eam perduxit." Hist. Saracenica, p. 257.

LXV.

المطيع لله *AL-MOTÌ-LILLAH*,

Twenty-third Abbassite khalif.

I. AREA. First symbol. ركن الدولة ابو علي *Rukn ad-daulat abu Ali.* SILVER, An. 355.

MARGIN. بسم ..... رب هذا الدرهم بشيراز
سنه خمس و خمسين و ثلثمايه

In nomine .....tur hæc drachma in urbe *Shiráz*, anno 355 (965-6).

II. AREA. لله محمد رسول الله المطيع لله
الامير العدل عضد الدولة ابو شجاع

Deo. Muhammed est legatus Dei. *Al-Motì-lillah*, imperator justus. *Adhad-ad-daulat abu Shajà.*

MARGIN. Second symbol. (2 dw. 2½ gr.)

This dirhem (for which, as well as for other interesting coins, I am indebted to the kindness of Colonel Fitz Clarence) affords much historical information; as will appear from the following brief statement of the political circumstances of the period. In the early part of the reign of the khalif *Radhi*, a jealousy of his visir, *Ibn Moklah*, induced him to commit a considerable share of the powers of government to a military chief, with the title of امیرالامرا *Amîr-al-omra* or commander of commanders. In this officer and his successors (as in the Maires du palais under the first race of French kings, and the *Peishwas* of the Mahratta state) the whole of the royal authority in time became vested, and amongst the most eminent of those whose superior influence placed them in the situation, were the Persian princes of the house of بویه *Búyah:* principally *Moaz-ad-daulat* (brother of *Rukn-ad-daulat*, the reigning chief of Persia) who in the year 334 had dethroned the khalif *Mostakfi* and set up in his room the khalif *Motì*, and dying in 356, bequeathed the almost imperial dignity to his son *Azz-ad-daulat;* and *Adhad-ad-daulat* (the son of *Rukn-ad-daulat*)

SILVER, An. 355. *ad-daulat*) who defeated *Azz-ad-daulat*, his cousin, in battle, and became *Amîr-al-omra* in the year 367.

The dirhem was struck at *Shirâz*, the then Persian capital, and with relation to the khalifat, must be considered as a provincial coin, issued by a person who, although in the actual exercise of regal power, professed a nominal vassalage to the head of the Mussulman faith. The names in its legend are, in the first place that of the khalif *Motì-lillah*, secondly of *Rukn-ad-daulat abu Ali*, and thirdly of his eldest son *Adhad-ad-daulat abu Shajà*, whom, on account of his own advanced age, he may be supposed to have associated with him in the government of his kingdom.(1)

As a striking proof of the degradation of the khalifat, it may be observed that the sovereign is here no longer termed *Amîr-al-mûmenîn*, Commander of the Faithful, but simply *Amîr al-àdel*, the just commander or Lord of Justice.(2)

It must be allowed that, whilst the unit and hundred of the date are perfectly clear, the first character of the decimal word gives it much the appearance of ثمانين 80 instead of خمسين 50; but this arises from the upper stroke of the خ not having its proper slope; and it is obvious that the م is not followed, as in the former, by an ا. The constructive evidence, at the same time, places the accuracy of the date beyond a doubt.

(1) A dirhem of this khalif, with the same additional names of the *Bûyah* family, coined at ارجان *Arjân* in Persia in the year 344, is described by Reiske and Eichhorn.

(2) "Præter nomen principis," says Abu'lfeda, "nihil in ejus potestate erat. Adeo tam retrò sublapsæ fuerant res Chalifatus, et tam evilueret ea dignitas, ut ejus nulla ratio haberetur, nulla esset auctoritas." T. II. p. 439.

LXVI.

الناصر لدين الله *AL-NÂSER LEDÎN-ILLAH,*

Thirty-fourth Abbassite khalif.

GOLD, An. 612.

I. AREA. الامام لااله الاالله وحده لاشريك له
الناصر لدين الله امير المومنين

Antistes. Non est deus nisi Deus, &c. *Al-Náser ledín-illah*, imperator Fidelium.

INNER CIRCLE. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمدينه
السلام سنه اثنين عشره و ستمايه

In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius in Urbe Pacis *(Baghdâd)* anno 612 (1215).

MARGIN. Sentence from *surah* XXX.

II. AREA. الحمد لله محمد رسول الله صلي الله عليه

Laus Deo. Muhammed est legatus Dei, cui sit pax Dei.

MARGIN. Second symbol. (4 dw. 12 gr.)

The first peculiarity that strikes us in this coin is its size and weight, shewing it to be a double dinar; of which no example had before occurred in the collection. The next is that of the word امام *imâm* (antistes) prefixed to the name of the khalif; but in the long interval since the date of the preceding dirhem, there were repeated instances of the attachment of the reigning khalifs to the family of *Ali* and sect of the *Shîàh*, leading them to adopt a title, which, in a political view, was considered as belonging specially to the head of those who adhered to the heterodox party of Mahometans. Abu'lfeda, whilst he notices the circumstance of *Al-Nâser's* professing the *Shîàh* doctrines, uses the word as if it formed one of the proper names of this khalif.(1)

(1) " Ejusdem anni (622 mense decimo) pariter obiit Chalifa *Imam Naser ledin allah* Abu'l Abbas Ahmed..... Schiitis adhærebat." Annales Moslemici, t. IV. p. 327. And again, speaking of his son and successor, Abu'lfeda says: " Pater fuerat Schiita, hic Sunnita erat." p. 333.

LXVII.

LXVII.

AL-NÂSER LEDÎN-ILLAH.

GOLD, An. 620.

I. AREA. الامام لااله الا الله وحده لاشريك له
الناصر لدين الله اميرالمومنين

Antistes. Non est &c. *Al-Náser ledín-illah,* imperator Fidelium.

INNER CIRCLE. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمدينه
السلام سنه عشرين وست مايه

In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius in Urbe Pacis (*Baghdád*), anno 620 (1223).

MARGIN. Sentence from *surah* xxx.

II. AREA. محمد رسول الله صلي الله عليه

Muhammed est legatus Dei, cui sit pax Dei.

SIDES. ابو نصر عزم الدبيا و الدين

Abu Nasr Azem ed-duniya wa ed-dín.

MARGIN. Second symbol. (3 dw. 18½ gr.)

This double dinar resembles in most respects the preceding, but contains, in addition to the name of the khalif, that of *Abu-Nasr Azem,* whose identity is not easily ascertained. It may, from analogy, be supposed to have belonged to the heir apparent of the khalifat or the powerful minister of the time, of whom, however, I find no record in Abu'lfeda's Annals. The khalif *Náser-ledín-illah* died in the year 622 (after a long reign), and was succeeded by his eldest son, whose original name was *Abu-Nasr Muhammed,* under the title of *Al-Dhaher beamr-illah.* On him, his father might have previously bestowed that of *Azem ed-duniya wa ed-dín,* when he associated his name with his own, on the coinage. It happened indeed that some years before his death, this son had fallen into disgrace and had been confined in prison, whilst a younger son, whom Abu'lfaraj names *Amîr Alí,* became the object of the khalif's affections, until about the year 620 (the date of the coin), in which

which the youth lost his life by an accident.(1) Upon the occasion of this event *Abu-Nasr* was regularly acknowledged as heir. It should be noticed that in the name of the father the word is ناصر *Nâser* (adjutor), and in that of the son, نصر *Năsr* (auxilium); the difference depending upon their relation to the other words composing the title. GOLD, An. 620.

At the period of coining this dinar, the last in the collection by any prince of the Abbassite dynasty, the khalifat was fast approaching to its dissolution, under the irresistible influence of the Tartar conquerors, whose aid, in a quarrel with a neighbouring power, *Al-Nâser* is said to have invoked. Thirty-six years afterwards (656), *Mostasem-billah* was subdued and put to death by *Huldgu* the grandson of *Jengiz-Khan.*(2)

(2) " Fidem illi (sc. natu majori) præstari jam antea fecerat pater ipsius, ut hæredi designato . . . . . Deinde ab eo aversus est, sibi ab eo metuens, cùm audax esset, fortis, iracundus, res altas animo versans, nomenque ejus quasi successoris designati è concionibus tolli jussit, ipsumque in vinculis detentum arctè habuit, affectu propendens in fratrem ipsius natu minorem, *Al Emir Alim;* nisi quod ipsum successorem non declareret. Factum est autem ut fato cederet *Al Emir Ali,* vivente adhuc patre." Historia Dynastiarum, p. 302.

(2) Annales Moslem. t. IV. p. 473, 551.

SAMANIAN OR *SAMÂNI* DYNASTY.

THIS dynasty, one of the most powerful that arose upon the decline of the empire of the khalifs, began first to be noticed in the person of نصر بن احمد *Nasr ben Ahmed*, the great grandson of سعمان *Sàmán*,(1) from whom the family derived its appellation. He was in 261 appointed by the khalif *Mòtamed* governor of *Bokhára*, in the province of *Mawar-al-nahr* or Transoxiana, but in 279 was dispossessed by his younger brother اسمعيل *Ismâîl*, who held the government of *Samarkand*, and to whom, in 287, the khalif *Mòtadhed* granted the province, together with that of *Khorasán*, in full sovereignty (or with the reservation of nominal fealty) as a reward for his service against عمرو بن ليث *Amru ben Leith*, whose defeat and captivity extinguished the Soffarite dynasty. This dominion, to which was added by conquest a considerable part of Persia, continued under the Samanian race until the year 389, when it was reduced to subjection by the Ghaznavi princes. The succession was as follows.

		A.H.	A.D.
Nasr ben Ahmed	نصر بن احمد	261	874
Ismâîl ben Ahmed	اسمعيل بن احمد	279	892
Ahmed ben Ismâîl	احمد بن اسمعيل	295	907
Nasr ben Ahmed	نصر بن احمد	301	913
Núh ben Nasr	نوح بن نصر	331	943
Abd-al-malek ben Núh	عبدالملك بن نوح	343	954
Al-Mansúr ben Núh	المنصور بن نوح	350	961
Núh ben Al-Mansúr	نوح بن المنصور	366	977
Al-Mansúr ben Núh	المنصور بن نوح	387	997
Abd-al-malek ben Núh	عبدالملك بن نوح	389	998

With

(1) By Abu'lfeda the name is written سامان *Sâmân*. He was the distinguished chief of a band of robbers.

With the reign of *Al-Mansûr*, which lasted only one year, when he was deposed and deprived of sight, the Samanian empire, long convulsed, may be considered as having ceased to exist. A similar fate attended his brother *Abd-al-malek*, a youth, who could scarcely be said to have exercised the functions of royalty.

LXVIII.

ناصر بن احمد *NÂSER BEN AHMED,*

First prince of the Samanian dynasty.

SILVER, An. (278-9).

I. AREA. First symbol (with inverted characters). ناصر *Náser.*

MARGIN. Characters inverted and illegible.

II. AREA. لله محمد رسول الله المعتمد علالله
المعتضد بالله

Deo. Muhammed est legatus Dei. *Al-Mòtamed Ala'llah.*
Al-Mòtadhed-billah.

MARGIN. Second symbol. (2 dw.)

This dirhem, the earliest belonging to the Samanian dynasty, has been already noticed in describing the money of the Abbassite khalifs. In the absence of a positive date, it was there shewn, from the conjoint names of the khalif *Mòtamed*, who died in the latter part of the year 279, and of his nephew *Mòtadhed*, who was nominated to the succession in the beginning of 278, that it must have been coined within one or the other of those two years.

The characters in Area I, though fair and seemingly distinct, are by some graphical mistake reversed, and must consequently be read backwards, or from left to right;[1] whilst the sentence in the margin, where

 the

(1) That the inversion of the characters is not peculiar to this specimen will appear from the following passage. "Vidi tamen numum Ismaelis ben Ahmed ..... cui in utroque margine comma Suræ IX. 33. inscriptum, et in area I. symbolum, calligraphicè quidem, sed ordine retrogrado exaratum erat." O. G. Tychsen, Introduct. in rem. Num. p. 73.

Silver, An. (278-9). the date should appear, from the inversion or confusion of the letters and their being in some parts defaced, is quite illegible. The name at the bottom of the symbol, however difficult to reconcile to any consistent orthography, is evidently meant for نصر *Naṣr (ben Ahmed)*, the first of the Samanian princes who had claim to distinction, and who died also in 279. The legend on the opposite side is in every respect contrasted with this, and could not have been executed by the same artist; the characters being in the usual order of Arabic writing, neat in their form, and easy to be read.

With regard to the place of coinage, as the khalif had, at a preceding period, given the government of Samarkand to *Ahmed*, the father, and of Bokhâra to *Nasr*, the son, it may be inferred that this dirhem, which strongly resembles all others of the same dynasty, proceeded from the mint of one of those cities. It may be observed that the surname or epithet of *Ala'allah*, given to *Mòtamed* and some other of the khalifs, which in the Annales Moslemici of Abu'lfeda and Arabian authors in general, is written علي‌الله, is distinctly in this dirhem written (as pronounced) عالالله.

LXIX.

اسمعيل بن احمد *ISMÀÎL BEN AHMED,*

Second prince.

Silver, An. 288. I. Area. First symbol.

Inner Circle. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالشاش
سنه ثمان وثمانين و مايتين

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in *Al-Shâsh*, anno 288 (901).

Margin. لله‌الامر من قبل و من بعد ويومئذ
يفرح المومنون بنصر الله

Deo est imperium antehac et in futurum; et tunc lætabantur Fideles in victoria (s. auxilio) divina.

II. Area.

II. AREA. لله محمد رسول الله المعتضدبالله اسمعيل بن احمد SILVER, An. 288.

Deo, s. per Deum. Muhammed est legatus Dei. *Al-Mòtadhed-billah. Ismàïl ben Ahmed.*

MARGIN. Second symbol. (1 dw. 21 gr.)

Commendation is bestowed by historians on this prince (the first of his race who possessed actual independence) for his attention to the coinage. The surface of his dirhems is broader and fairer than that of the coins struck at *Baghdâd* about the same time, although with little, if any, addition of weight. They contain all the formulary inscriptions adopted by the khalifs, and particularly that one from the *korân*, *surah* XXX, already noticed as being introduced by the Abbassite khalif *Al-Mamûn*, upon the occasion of a victory obtained about the year 218 of the *hejrah*. The characters in general are clear and legible, but want the neatness of the early Cufic.

Besides the name of the Samanian prince, who reigned from 279 to 295, we find that of the khalif *Al-Mòtadhed-billah*, who, in the year 279 also, succeeded his uncle, *Al-Mòtamed*, in the khalifat, and died in 289. The place of coinage was *Al-Shâsh* (by the Persians written and pronounced چاچ *Chaj*), a well-known city of Transoxiana, which appears to have been the favourite residence of this family.

A rich collection of the coins of four of its princes, discovered on the shores of the Baltic and preserved in Sweden, has been described by C. Aurivillius, as well in the Transactions of the Academy of Upsal as in a separate publication, intitled "De numis Arabicis in Suiogothia repertis, Disquisitio." Upsaliæ 1775. Those belonging to the Royal Library of Göttingen have been described by T. C. Tychsen, "De num. Cuf. Bibl. Gott." Comment I. p. 129. By Reiske, in Eichhorn's Repertorium, XVII^er. Theil, p. 273, we find an examination of some preserved in the Dresden cabinet.(1) The Milan Collection also contains

 several

(1) It is remarkable that a great proportion of the Samanian dirhems that have been collected, and especially those from the shores of the Baltic, are more or less reduced in size by cutting, and in some instances as much as one half. This will appear upon inspection of the Plates annexed to the

SILVER, An. 288. several specimens, described by Castiglioni. The first of them is of the year 286, and corresponds exactly with this. The learned writer's arguments intended to prove that the *Ouchacha* or *Oukaka*, of Marco Polo is intended for *Al-Shash* (rather than for the *Okak* of Abu'lfeda) are by no means convincing.

This specimen was obligingly given to me, along with two others of the same class, by Mr. Marmaduke Trattle.

LXX. LXXI.

اسمعيل بن احمد *ISMÀÎL BEN AHMED.*

SILVER, An. 290.

I. AREA. First symbol.

INNER CIRCLE. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالشاش
سنه تسعين و مايتين

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in *Al-Shâsh*, anno 290 (902).

MARGIN. Sentence from the *korân* (*surah* xxx) as in the preceding.

II. AREA. لله محمد رسول الله المكتفي بالله
اسمعيل بن احمد

Deo. Muhammed est legatus Dei. *Al-Moktafi-billah.*
Ismâîl ben Ahmed.

MARGIN. Second symbol. (2 dw. 0½ gr. 1 dw. 15½ gr.)

This dirhem coined in the same reign and at the same place, differs from the former in containing the name of the khalif *Al-Moktafi*, who succeeded

the work of Aurivillius, and it is probably to such mutilation that *Ibn Hakal* alludes, when he says that at Samarkand "pecuniary affairs are transacted by means of gold and of dirhems of *Ismael*, broken شكسته." Oriental Geography, p. 258. Where payments are made in foreign coin, by weight (as in Spanish dollars at Canton in China), it is usual to cut the pieces in order to adjust the balance.

succeeded his father *Al-Mòtadhed* in 289, one year before the date of the specimen. Another dirhem of the same date (290), but not in good preservation, differs only in the name of the place where it was struck, being سمرقند *Samarkand,* likewise a celebrated city of Transoxiana. SILVER, An. 290.

LXXII. LXXIII.

اسمعيل بن احمد *ISMÀÎL BEN AHMED.*

I. AREA. First symbol. SILVER, An. 293.

INNER CIRCLE. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالشاش
سنه ثلث وتسعين ومايتين

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in *Al-Shâsh,* anno 293 (905).

MARGIN. Sentence from the *korân,* as in the preceding.

II. AREA. لله محمد رسول الله المقتفي بالله
اسمعيل بن احمد

Deo. Muhammed est legatus Dei. *Al-Moktafi-billah.*
Ismàîl ben Ahmed.

MARGIN. Second symbol. (1 dw. 22 gr. 1 dw. 18½ gr.)

This dirhem, bearing the date of 293, has, in other respects, the same legend as that of 290. It is remarkable in having been dug up near Keswick, in Cumberland, along with another belonging to the same dynasty, and a dirhem of the khalif *Harûn Al-Rashîd,* of the year 182, as already noticed in p. 39. A duplicate of this was given to me by Mr. M. Trattle.

LXXIV.

احمد بن اسمعيل *AHMED BEN ISMÀÎL,*

Third prince.

SILVER, An. 295.

I. AREA. First symbol. المكتفي بالله *Al-Moktafi-billah* نح.

INNER CIRCLE. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم .....

... سنه خمس و تسعين و مايتين

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma ..... anno 295 (907).

MARGIN. Sentence from *surah* XXX.

II. AREA. الله محمد رسول الله احمد بن اسمعيل نح

Per Deum. Muhammed est legatus Dei. *Ahmed ben Ismàîl.*

MARGIN. Second symbol. (1 dw. 22 gr.)

Ismàîl died in the second month of the year 295, and was succeeded by his son *Ahmed*, under whom this dirhem was coined in the first year of his reign, previously to the death of the khalif *Moktafi*, which took place in the eleventh month of the same year. Accordingly we find in the one Area the name of that khalif, and in the other, the name of *Ahmed ben Ismâîl.*

What may be considered as a mint-mark appears to consist of the letters نح, a contraction, perhaps, of the name of نوح *Nûh*, which prevailed much in the Samanian family. Contrary to the usual practice it is found on both sides. A partial corrosion has rendered the name of the place difficult to be read; yet from the remains of the characters we may distinguish the word اندرابه *Anderâbeh*, a city of *Khorasân*, not far from *Balkh.*

LXXV.

LXXV.—LXXVII.

احمد بن اسمعيل *AHMED BEN ISMÀÎL.*

SILVER, An. 298.

I. AREA. The first symbol.

INNER CIRCLE. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالشاش
سنه ثمان وتسعين ومايتين

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in *Al-Shâsh*, anno 298 (910).

MARGIN. Sentence from *surah* XXX.

II. AREA. لله محمد رسول الله المقتدر بالله
احمد بن اسمعيل

Per Deum. Muhammed est legatus Dei. *Al-Moktader-billah.*
Ahmed ben Ismàîl.

MARGIN. Second symbol. (2 dw. $1\frac{1}{4}$ gr. 1 dw. $20\frac{1}{4}$ gr. 1 dw. 19 gr.)

The khalif *Al-Moktader-billah*, whose name, as lord paramount, appears on this dirhem, succeeded *Al-Moktafi* in 295. The reign of *Ahmed*, the Samanian prince, continued till the year 301. Of this date of 298 there are three specimens; two of them coined at *Al-Shâsh*, and the third at Samarkand. The former, however, are not from the same die. Besides a difference in the form of some of the most conspicuous letters, the word الشاش, in the less perfect one (which was found in a northern county of England along with two other dirhems already noticed), is abbreviated by omitting a part of each of the characters ش; a mode of elision less common, in the coins of this dynasty, than that of leaving out one or more letters of the word; as remarked by O. G. Tychsen, Introduct. p. 83. It may be observed that the word المومنون *al-mûmenûn* is used as the plural form of مومن *mûmin*, instead of the more customary, but less regular plural, المومنين *al-mûmenîn* Fidelium.

LXXVIII.

LXXVIII.

احمد بن اسمعيل *AHMED BEN ISMÀÎL.*

SILVER, An. 299.

I. AREA. First symbol.

INNER CIRCLE. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالشاش
سنه تسع و تسعين و مايتين

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in *Al-Shâsh*, anno 299 (911-12).

MARGIN. Sentence from *surah* XXX.

II. AREA. لله محمّد رسول الله المقتدربالله
احمد بن اسمعيل

Per Deum. Muhammed est legatus Dei. *Al-Moktader-billah. Ahmed ben Ismàîl.*

MARGIN. Second symbol. (2 dw. 1½ gr.)

This dirhem, coined by the same prince, and in the reign of the same khalif, differs little from those of the preceding year, excepting its superior state of preservation. It was kindly placed in the Collection by Sir William Strickland, Bart. of Boynton in Yorkshire, who communicated to me at the same time, the particular circumstances attending its discovery, in the following note: "Sir William Strickland begs Mr. Marsden's acceptance of the Cufic coin which he shewed him in London, and which he should have had great pleasure in adding to his curious and interesting Collection at the time, had it not belonged to his brother-in-law, Mr. Cholmley, on whose estate, called the Haverholms, in the parish of Flaxton, near York, it was found. It was ploughed up in the autumn of 1807, in a field some years since taken off from the antient forest of Galtres, and was enclosed in a leaden box, which time had almost entirely decomposed, along with one other imperfect coin of the same country, which Sir W. believes Mr. M. saw in the possession of Mr. Weston, two pennies of Edward the elder, son of Alfred the Great, a hundred and fifty or more Saxon Peter-pennies, several rings and armlets of curious construction, and lumps of sculptured silver, the use of

of which cannot be ascertained, as they appear to be fragments only of some massive ornament or vessel. Sir W. has requested his son to present the coin to Mr. M." York, Jan. 22d, 1809. SILVER, An. 299.

The exact coincidence of the reigns of two of the three princes whose coins were thus found together, is deserving of notice. Edward the elder succeeded his father Alfred in 901, and died in 925: *Ahmed*, the Samanian prince, reigned from 907 to 913, and as no coins of any later reign accompanied them, it is fair to suppose that they were deposited during the lifetime of Edward, who survived *Ahmed* twelve years. How the Transoxanian dirhem found its way to England, in those early days, I do not pretend to ascertain; but as the silver coinage of the North might obviously be transported by the caravans, through Persia and Babylonian Irak, to Syria, it is not an improbable conjecture that from thence some English pilgrim might bring home a piece of money impressed with unknown characters, as a curiosity at least, if not as an amulet. A dirhem in every respect similar is described by T. C. Tychsen.

LXXIX. LXXX.

نصر بن احمد *NASR BEN AHMED,*

Fourth prince.

I. AREA. First symbol. SILVER, An. 301-320.

INNER CIRCLE. ..... بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma .....

MARGIN. Sentence from *surah* XXX.

II. AREA. لله محمد رسول الله المقتدربالله

نصر بن احمد بن

Per Deum. Muhammed est legatus Dei. *Al-Moktader-billah. Nasr ben Ahmed.*

MARGIN. Second symbol. (1 dw. 19½ gr. 1 dw. 20 gr.)

The

SILVER, An. 301-320.

The date as well as the place of coinage of this dirhem of *Nasr* the son of *Ahmed*, have baffled my attempts to read them, although the characters are not obliterated; but the arts were then fast declining in this ephemeral empire. Something like ثمان عشره 18 may be obscurely traced, and as *Nasr* began his reign in 301, and the khalif *Moktader*, whose name appears on it, was put to death in 320, the date of 318 is not improbable. *Nasr* himself reigned until 331, when he was succeeded by his son *Nûh ben Nasr*, some of whose coins have been described by Aurivillius and others.

At the bottom of both Areas there are what seem to be contractions of words, not legible, and are perhaps mint-marks.(1) The specimen is in but indifferent preservation. In addition to these that have been described, there is in the collection a dirhem, evidently of the same dynasty, but in characters so disfigured and perverted as to render it impossible to decipher them, even so far as to ascertain the name of the illiterate sovereign to whom the coin belonged.(2) In weight, however, it exceeds the dirhem last described.

In S. de Sacy's "Notice de l'ouvrage intitulé: Numophylacium orientale Pototianum," he furnishes, with his usual accuracy of discernment, the reading of a coin strongly resembling this, which others had attempted in vain to decipher. He makes the place of coinage to be *Al-Shash*, and the date 308. The most material variation from my specimen is that he finds the Samanian prince described by his appellation of امیرسعید "Emirus Saïdus," where I read distinctly his name of *Nasr ben Ahmed*.

(1) "Nomini Principis subjectam habet figuram, quæ an denotat quidpiam, aut quid denotet, non expedio, et in parte versa, cristam forte plumarum." Aurivillius, de nummis Arabicis, &c. p. 10.

(2) "Sunt mihi numi tam integri, quam eorum fragmenta, quorum specimina quædam Aurivillius Tab. III. n. 7. IV. 1. 3. 4. suppeditavit, in quibus et singularum dictionum et litterarum positionis et figuræ summa est perturbatio." O. G. Tychsen, Introduct. p. 82. T. C. Tychsen also, in describing a dirhem of the same prince, says: "Perigraphen etiam, quæ locum et annum indicabat, ita grandibus et crassis exaravit literis, ut vix suffecerit spatium perscribendis singulis verbis, et, quam supra proposui, lectionem, ex singulis literis divinando potius quam legendo eruere necesse fuerit." Comment. I. p. 131.

SELJÛK DYNASTY.

THIS celebrated race, which derives its appellation from سلجوق *Seljûk*, a Turk belonging to the tribe of خزر *Khozar* or of غز *Ghuz*, in the neighbourhood of the Caspian and the river Wolga, became of historical importance under his grandsons *Toghrul-beg* and *Jâfer-beg Daoûd*, who were for some time in the service of *Mahmûd* of *Ghazna*, and by him established in the province of *Khorasân*, where they soon became powerful and formidable to their master. About the year 428–1036 they successfully resisted the arms of *Masâud* the successor of *Mahmûd*, and in 429 the *khotbah* was pronounced in the name of *Toghrul*, who assumed the title of sultan, and received his investiture from the khalif. Under his nephew *Alp-Arslân*, and *Malek Shâh* the son of the latter (better known by his surname of *Jelâl-ed-dîn* and by the Era thence called, which he instituted) this empire, affectedly termed by historians that of the Shepherd (nomadic) kings of Persia, acquired an extent and a degree of power that has rarely been equalled. *Baghdâd* itself, the capital of the dominions of the khalif, whom they held in tutelage, was in their possession, but the seat of government of this elder or Persian branch of the Seljûk family was chiefly *Rêi* (Rages) and *Hamadân* (Ecbatana). Another branch was settled in *Kermân*, the most eastern and southern province of Persia. A third established itself in that part of Asia minor which is denominated Anatolia, and which the orientals emphatically term *Rûm*, whilst, more generally, that name is applied to the whole of the Greek empire.

For a detail of the events that raised these soldiers of fortune to such an eminence, as well as of those which, at no distant period, led to the decline and final annihilation of their power, the reader is referred to the works of Abu'lfaraj, Abu'lfeda, and William of Tyre, summaries of whose accounts will be found in those of D'Herbelot, De Guignes,

Marigni, Gibbon, and Malcolm.(1) For our present purpose it will be sufficient to observe that the first prince of those who are styled the sultans of *Rûm* was سليمان *Soleimân* the son of قطلومش *Kotlûmish* and great grandson of *Seljûk*, to whom his kinsman *Malek Shâh*, as head of the family, conceded, in the year 467–1074, all the countries that he should be enabled to subdue, to the westward of Antioch. Having, in consequence, entered the territory of the Greeks, in 470, and immediately conquered from them the Bithynian city of Nicæa, he fixed his government there, and soon compelled the emperor Alexis Comnenes to acknowledge him master of the greater part of Asia minor: but by his successors, *Kuniyah* or Iconium, of Lycaonia, and *Sîwas* or Sebastia, of Cappadocia, were considered as their capital cities. It is to this branch only of the *Seljûks* that the coins in the Collection belong, and few that were struck by princes of other divisions of the dynasty appear to be elsewhere preserved.

Although these chiefs and their nomadic tribes who settled in Asia minor were of genuine *Turki* or Turkish origin, and their descendants, even to this day, adhere to the pastoral habits of their ancestors, they have received from the early historians the distinctive appellation of ترکمان *Turkmân* or Turkomans, which is not applied by them to the Turks proper, or native inhabitants of that grand portion of Tartary called ترکستان *Turkestân*. By modern writers the terms are too generally confounded. On the other hand, the practice that prevails of bestowing the name of Turks, exclusively, on the Ottomans or *Osmanlis*, has given frequent occasion to misapprehension and error.

(1) The historians of the Greek empire might also be mentioned, as they serve to throw some light on doubtful points of chronology, but would of themselves be fallacious guides in oriental matters. Speaking of the battle of Zendekan which was fatal to the *Ghazni* dominion in Persia, Gibbon observes that the Byzantine historians "have confounded, in this revolution, the truth of time and place, of names and persons, of causes and events." Vol. v. p. 653.

SULTANS OF THE *SELJÛK* DYNASTY OF *RÛM* OR ANATOLIA.

			A.H.	A.D.
1.	*Soleimân ben Kotlumish*	سليمان بن قطلومش	470	1077
	Interregnum of seven years.		478	1085
2.	*Daoûd Kilij Arslân ben Soleimân*	داود قلج ارسلان بن سليمان	485	1092
3.(1)	*Saisan ben Kilij Arslân Malek Shah.*		501	1107
4.	*Masàud ben Kilij Arslân*	مسعود بن قلج ارسلان	510	1116
5.	*Azz-ed-dîn Kilij Arslân ben Masàud*	عزالدين قلج ارسلان بن مسعود	551	1156
6.	*Kotb-ed-dîn Malek Shâh ben Kilij Arslân* (deposed)	قطاب الدين ملك شاه بن قلج ارسلان	584	1188
7.	*Gheiâth-ed-dîn Kai Khosru ben Kilij Arslân* (deposed)	غياث الدين كيخسرو بن قلج ارسلان	588	1192
8.	*Rukn-ed-dîn Soleimân ben Kilij Arslân* (deposed)	ركن الدين سليمان بن قلج ارسلان	596?	
9.	*Kilij Arslân ben Rukn-ed-dîn* (deposed)	قلج ارسلان بن ركن الدين	600	1203
7.	*Gheiath-ed-dîn Kai Khosru* (restored)	غياث الدين كيخسرو	600	1203
10.	*Azz-ed-dîn Kai Kâus ben Kai Khosru*	عزالدين كيكاوس بن كيخسرو	607	1210
11.	*Ala-ed-dîn Kai Kobâd ben Kai Khosru*	علاء الدين كيقباد بن كيخسرو	616	1219
12.	*Gheiâth-ed-dîn Kai Khosru ben Kai Kobâd*	غياث الدين كيخسرو بن كيقباد	634	1236
13.	*Azz-*			

(1) The correctness of the name of *Saisan* is very questionable, being known only from the Greek historians. Abu'lfeda speaks of the immediate successor of *Kilij Arslân* (the destructive opponent of the first Crusaders) by the name of *Malek shâh*; and De Guignes, whose authority chiefly I have followed in this list, says: "Ce prince peut être le même que *Malek schah*." Castiglioni conjectures that the word *Saisan* may be a corruption, by Anna Comnena, of the Persian *Shahin shah* rex regum.

		A.H.	A.D.
13.	*Azz-ed-dîn Kai Kâus* (in nominal conjunction with his brothers) *Rukn-ed-dîn Kilij Arslân*, and *Ala-ed-dîn Kai Kobâd*, sons of *Kai Khosru* عزالدين كيكاوس و ركن الدين قلج ارسلان و علاء الدين كيقباد بنو غياث الدين كيخسرو	643	1245
14.	*Rukn-ed-din Kilij Arslân* (the second of the three brothers) ركن الدين قلج ارسلان	655	1257
15.	*Gheiath-ed-dîn Kai Khosru ben Rukn-ed-dîn* غياث الدين كيخسرو بن ركن الدين	666	1267
16.	*Masàud ben Azz-ed-dîn Kai Kaus* مسعود بن عزالدين كيكاوس	682	1283

In the year 641–1243 this kingdom was invaded and subsequently overrun by the Moghul princes, descendants of *Jengiz-khan*, and from that period the Seljukian sultans merely retained or assumed the title, without the exercise of independent authority. The death of *Masàud*, the last nominal sultan, is said to have taken place in 708–1308.

LXXXI.

عزالدين قلج ارسلان بن مسعود *AZZ-ED-DÎN KILIJ ARSLÂN BEN MASÀUD,*

Fifth Seljukian sultan of the dynasty of Rûm.

SILVER, An. 582.

I. AREA. الامام لااله الا الله وحد لاشريكله
الناصر لدين الله امير المؤمنين

Imâm. Non est Deus nisi Deus unicus, cui non est socius. *Al-Nâser-ledîn-illah,* imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب بقونيه

In nomine Dei cuditur in *Kuniyah* (Iconio).

II. AREA.

II. AREA. محمد رسول الله صلي الله عليه — SILVER, An. 582.

السلطان ماعظم قلج ارسلان

Muhammed est legatus Dei, cui sit pax Dei. Sultanus supremus *Kilij Arslán*.

MARGIN. سنه اثنين و ثمنين وخمس ...

anno 582 (1186). (2 dw. 2 gr.)

The Seljukian sultan by whom this silver coin was struck, the fifth prince of the dynasty, was the grandson of that *Kilij Arslân* who is so celebrated in the history of the Crusades, from his having destroyed the first numerous armies of Christian zealots, led by Peter the Hermit and others. He himself was engaged in sanguinary wars with Manuel Comnenes and the Greek emperors his successors. In 584, two years after the date of this coin, feeling the infirmities of age, he divided his dominions amongst his children, which produced the consequences that might be expected, and he died a fugitive in 588.

It is from the mint of *Kuniyah* or *Kuniah*, the Iconium of the ancients and capital of Lycaonia, as it has since been of Caramania. In its inscriptions, as well as its general appearance, it differs materially from the coins of the khalifs, whose names, however, in token of nominal fealty, are retained. The second symbol, or sentence which asserts the divine mission of the Prophet, is entirely omitted, and the titles of the prince, as well as the date and place, are disposed in a different order. The denomination of the coin is not expressed, but it is in fact a dirhem, and of better weight than its prototypes.

The long reign of the khalif *Nâser ledîn-illah*, to whom the complimentary tribute is here paid, began in the year 575, and, as on his coins, the title of *Imâm* is prefixed. That of *Sultân*, applied to the princes of this dynasty, is said to have been first borne by *Mahmûd* of *Ghazna*, (who died in 471–1078), and by him transmitted to his successors, from whom it was adopted by their *Seljûk* conquerors.

With respect to the orthography of the name of قلج *Kilij* or *Kilidj*, as it distinctly appears on the coinage, Abu'lfeda writes it قلیج *Kilij*; but the former reading is justified by the authority of Abu'lfaraj. From mismanaged

SILVER, An. 582. mismanaged division of the marginal space, the word مايه "hundred" is omitted after خمس "five."

The sultan whom I have considered as the fifth of his race (following the enumeration of De Guignes) is ranked as the third by Adler and Tychsen, who make no account of some unimportant reigns. His coin is the earliest of its class that has been yet discovered. The next in antiquity is that described by T. Ch. Tychsen, amongst those recently acquired by the Royal Academy of Göttingen. Castiglioni observes that, "Questo è il piu antico Sultano di Romania di cui si conoscano monete." P. 86.

LXXXII.

غياث الدين كيخسرو بن قلج ارسلان *GHEIATH-ED-DÎN KAI KHOSRU BEN KILIJ ARSLÂN,*

Seventh sultan.

SILVER, An. 600-607.

I. AREA. السلطان الاعظم غياث الدنيا
و الدين كيخسرو بن قلج ارسلان

Sultanus max.mus *Gheiath-ed-duniya wa ed-dîn Kai-Khosru ben Kilij Arslân.*

MARGIN. No legend appears.

II. AREA (round). Regnum est Deo. الملك لله

MARGIN. ضرب بسيواس سنه ....
و ست مايه

Cuditur in *Síwás* (Sebastia) anno 60. (120.). (1 dw. 20 gr.)

Soon after the distribution made of his dominions by *Azz-ed-dîn Kilij Arslân,* his person, as well as Iconium his capital, were forcibly seized by *Kutb-ed-dîn,* his eldest son, to whose share the city and territory of *Síwás* had

had fallen, who treated him with rigour, whilst he affected to govern in his name. Upon making his escape from this thraldom, he sought refuge with his other children successively, and at length placed himself under the protection of *Gheiâth-ed-dîn Kai Khosru*, who drove his elder brother *Kutb-ed-dîn* out of *Kuniyah*, and prepared to restore the government to his father, when the death of the latter (in 588) frustrated his pious intentions. That of *Kutb-ed-dîn* followed soon after, and *Gheiâth-ed-dîn* remained for a time in possession of the capital and throne, until expelled in his turn by another brother named *Rukn-ed-dîn*; upon whose death (in 600) he once more returned to *Kuniyah*, deposed the infant son of that brother, and reigned afterwards unmolested by his family. SILVER, An. 600-607.

The precise date of this coin, which was struck at *Sîwâs* or *Sivas* (the Cappadocian Sebastia) after it had come under the dominion of *Gheiâth-ed-dîn*, cannot be ascertained, in consequence of the obliterated or imperfect appearance of the unit; but the century is distinct, and as he lived only to the year 607, the uncertainty is brought within narrow limits. The characters, though somewhat rudely formed, are in general distinct and legible.

Although the name of the khalif does not appear upon several of the coins, yet as it is found on others, there is sufficient evidence of the fealty being still acknowledged. It may indeed be the fact that the khalif may have considered this prince as the usurper of his brother's right, and withheld the investiture. To this state of things also the "regnum est Deo" may have an allusion.

LXXXIII.

كيخسرو بن قلج ارسلان *KAI KHOSRU BEN KILIJ ARSLAN.*

I. AREA. Effigies principis equo insidentis, armati, more Turcarum pileati, manu gladium positione erecta gerentis. In Areæ superiore parte stellæ duæ. COPPER, An. 600-607.

Copper, An. 600-607.

II. Area. السلطان المعظم كيخسرو بن قلج ارسلان

Sultanus maximus *Kai Khosru ben Kilij Arslân.*

This obolus, without date, but belonging to the same sultan, being the only one to whom the name of *Kai Khosru ben Kilij Arslân* can apply, is the first in the coinage of this dynasty that gives the representation of a human or any other figure; and we have here what may be considered as the effigy of the prince himself, seated on horseback and habited in Turkish costume. As a second and more spirited, although perhaps less characteristic equestrian figure immediately follows, I omitted to introduce an engraving of this in its proper place. Specimens approaching to one or other of these are numerous in the Collection, and we find one nearly similar noticed by Adler, first in his Mus. Cuf. Borg. no. LII. and again in the Collect. nov. no. XLIX.

LXXXIV.

كيخسرو بن قلج ارسلان *KAI KHOSRU BEN KILIJ ARSLÂN.*

Copper, An. 600-607.

I. Area. Effigies equestris ab antecedente paulùm diversa.

II. Area. الملك لله السلطان المعظم (غياث الدين) كيخسرو بن قلج ارسلان

Regnum est Deo. Sultanus maximus (*Gheiath-en-dîn*) *Kai Khosru ben Kilij Arslân.*

Like the preceding copper coin, we may presume this to have been struck between the year 600, when, after being deposed, he obtained regular possession of the throne, and 607, when he died. In the words of which the short legend consists there are several imperfections and omissions of letters, particularly of the initial ا *alifs* and final ن *núns*. Those with which it commences may, from analogy, be read الملك لله, being

being found upon other coins of that period, although the traces scarcely justify it. At the beginning of the third line there are characters that seem intended for a contraction of the title of the sultan, *Gheiath-ed-dîn*, but of a very arbitrary nature. COPPER, AR. 600-607.

LXXXV.

ركن الدين سليمان بن قلج ارسلان *RUKN-ED-DÎN SOLEIMÂN BEN KILIJ ARSLÂN,*

Eighth Sultan.

I. AREA. Effigies ad antecedentes prope referens, sed majoris moduli. COPPER, AR. 590-600.

II. AREA. الملك القاهر سليمان شاه
بن قلج ارسلان

Rex victor, *Soleimân Shâh ben Kilij Arslân.*

It has already been mentioned that *Kai Khosru*, the son of *Kilij Arslân*, was deposed by his brother *Rukn-ed-dîn Soleimân*, who held the government from about the year 590, until his death in 600. This copper coin, with an equestrian figure (of which there are two indifferent specimens) appears to have been struck by him, and may probably have been prior in date to those of *Kai Khosru* already noticed, but as this is without date, and the reign of the latter, although interrupted and not again established before 600, actually began in 588, I have thought it most consistent to place the coinage of the eighth, after that of the seventh sultan.

It is remarkable that we here find him styled *Soleimân Shâh*, a title not recorded by historians, and that another prince of the same name appears amongst those of the Seljukian branch of *Irân*, as having reigned in *554* and *555*. But without insisting upon the immediate connexion indicated by the equestrian figure, it is clearly shewn on one of the specimens

COPPER, An. 590-600.

specimens that the *Soleimân* by whom it was struck was the son of *Kilij Arslân*, and consequently the brother of *Kai Khosru*.

A handsome dirhem of the year 593, exhibiting the equestrian figure, with the titles of this sultan at full length, and also those of the reigning khalif, is described by T. Ch. Tychsen, Comment. IV. p. 94. By Castiglioni it is termed the figure of St. George, on a specimen of the year 600.

LXXXVI.

علا الدين كيقباد بن كيخسرو *ALÂ-ED-DÎN KAI KOBÂD BEN KAI KHOSRU,*

Eleventh sultan.

SILVER, An. 624-625.

I. AREA. ٦٢٤ السلطان المعظم علا الدنيا و الدين ابو الفتح كيقباد بن كيخسرو

624. Sultanus maximus, *Alá ed-duniya wa ed-dín Abu'l-Fatah Kai Kobád ben Kai Khosru.*

II. AREA. الامام المستنصر بالله امير المومنين

Imâm Al-Mostanser-billah imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN. سنه خمس ..... ست مايه

Anno 6.5 (1227). (1 dw. 14 gr.)

This coin of *Alâ-ed-dîn Kai Kobâd*, the son of *Gheiath-ed-dîn Kai Khosru*, who succeeded his brother *Azz-ed-dîn Kai Kâus*, and became the most distinguished prince of his race, has, among other peculiarities, that of a double date, on the opposite sides, differing one year from each other. At the top of Area I. it is expressed (for the first time) in numeral figures, such as are in use at the present day, and in the Margin of II., in words at length, as customary, but wanting, in consequence of

of ex-centric striking, the decimal عشرين 20, as well as the copulative و.[1] The circumstance of the two dates may be accounted for, from the upper or moveable die, containing that expressed in words, having been changed, whilst the lower die, containing the figures, was suffered to remain. SILVER, An. 624-625.

The khalifat of *Mostanser-billah* having commenced in 623, his name appears on this dirhem, and upon that face, it may be observed, which exhibits the later date; allowing time for the ceremony of granting investiture. Upon an earlier coin of this sultan (617) described by Adler, we find the name of the khalif *Nâser ledîn illah*, who died in 622.

With respect to the name or title of *Abu'l Fatah* which appears as well on this dirhem as on that of Adler, no certain explanation can be given. Neither Abu'lfeda nor Abu'lfaraj make any mention of it, and the assertion of the learned Danish orientalist that it refers to his having a son of the name of *Fatah* is not only without historical authority, but is invalidated by the Göttingen coin of 593, belonging to a different reign, where the title of *Abu'l Fatah* equally appears. The words signify in their most usual, although figurative sense, "the father of victory," and generally bear an allusion to the capture of a besieged city; in which sense they might be assumed by any warlike and successful prince. It should be noticed that the characters which compose them are much disfigured by double striking.

No vestiges of the name of the place of coinage appear in the margin or elsewhere, and from appearances I should judge it not to be from either of the accustomed mints of *Kuniyah* or *Siwâs*. A conspicuous asterisk is seen over the word الموصنين, which may be a mint-mark, or perhaps an ornament; but I am inclined to think it has a specific meaning, and that the varying numbers of these stars on other coins of the dynasty, are not arbitrary.

LXXXVII.

(1) In the Göttingen dirhem of 593 before referred to, the date has the unit ٣ 3, along with the decimal word at length, and without the copulative. The century is not expressed. Castiglioni in his description of this coin of 624-5 remarks: "Sopra l'iscrizione alcuni caratteri più minuti, che non riesco ad interpretare." These are the numerals ٦٢٣ 624.

LXXXVII.

علا الدين كيقباد بن كيخسرو *ALÂ-ED-DÎN KAI KOBÂD BEN KAI KHOSRU.*

SILVER, An. 629.

I. AREA. السلطان المعظم كيقباد بن كيخسرو

Sultanus maximus *Kai Kobad ben Kai Khosru.*

MARGIN. ضرب ..... هم بسيواس

Cuditur ..... ma in *Síwás,*

II. AREA. الامام المستنصر بالله امير .....

Imám Al-Mostanser-billah imperator .....

MARGIN. سنه تسع عشرين (و) ستمايه

anno 629 (1231). (1 dw. 17 gr.)

In this dirhem of the same sultan, the title of *Abu'l-Fatah* does not appear, as on his former coin, and this affords an additional reason for believing it to have been an occasional attribute, and not a proper name.

A difficulty has often attended our conjectures as to which side of a mussulman coin should be deemed the Obverse and which the Reverse; but there is here a connexion between the parts of the marginal sentence containing the date, on either side, that puts the question out of doubt, and serves at the same time to shew that the name of the lord paramount is placed on the latter.

It has already been remarked of the word تسع nine, that in the Cufic character, which has no points, it is frequently so much assimilated to سبع seven, as to be hardly distinguishable, and in this place it is more than usually ambiguous, the four indentations (if they may be so termed) being all equal in depth or height and equidistant; but as it is less common to find the medial ـبـ deficient in its relative height and distance from the ـسـ (which usually mark the distinction) than the initial تـ, I have little

little hesitation in deciding for the word تسع.(1) It should be observed that the impression of the letters is as perfect in this part as when the coin left the mint, although the word which should be عشرين, in the next division of the margin, is nearly defaced. Fortunately no historical point is affected by the uncertainty of two years in this date. The word المومنين Fidelium, is entirely omitted from want of space, or injudicious economy of it. On one side there are two asterisks, and on the other, four. SILVER, An. 629.

LXXXVIII.

علاالدين كيقباد بن كيخسرو *ALÂ-ED-DÎN KAI KOBÂD BEN KAI KHOSRU.*

I. AREA. السلطان الاعظم كيقباد بن كيخسرو SILVER, An. 631.?

Sultanus maximus *Kai Kobád ben Kai Khosru.*

MARGIN. ضرب هذا الدرهم بسيواس

Cuditur hæc drachma in *Síwás.*

II. AREA. الامام المستنصر بالله امير المومنين

Imám Al-Mostanser-billah imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN. سنه احد ..... ثين وستمايه

anno 6 (31) (1273). (1 dw. 19½ gr.)

In this, which also belongs to the same sultan, the unit and decimal are partially obliterated, by a perforation, but as there is some appearance

(1) This argument (intelligible only to Cufic readers) directly applies to the famous dirhem of the Stockholm Academy, the antiquity of which is determined upon the evident proportion of distances, which ascertain the disputed word to be سبعين seventy. See Remarks on First Cufic coin in this Collection, and T. Ch. Tychsen, Comment. de num. Arab. Hisp. p. 87. l. 7.

SILVER, An. 631? ance of the words احدي وثلثين, and the reign terminates in 634, we may venture to consider it as having been struck in 631. On one side there are four asterisks, and on the other three, which seem to be connected with some progressive numeration.

Castiglioni observes of a coin of the same date and place that the word is written املومنين: on my specimen it is امومنين, the ل *l* being omitted.

LXXXIX.

غياث الدين كيخسرو بن كيقباد *GHEIÂTH-ED-DÎN KAI KHOSRU BEN KAI KOBÂD,*

Twelfth Sultan.

SILVER, An. 634-640.

I. AREA. Sol in constellatione Leonis, cum tribus stellis.

MARGIN. الامام المستنصر بالله اميرالمومنين

Imâm Al-Mostanser-billah imperator Fidelium.

II. AREA. السلطان الاعظم غياث الدنيا والدين
كيخسرو بن كيقباد

Sultanus maximus *Gheiâth-ed-duniyà wa ed-dîn Kai Khosru ben Kai Kobâd.*

MARGIN. ضرب بقونيه في سنه الف ستمايه

Cuditur in *Kuniyah* (Iconio) anno 6 . . (123 .). (1 dw. 21 gr.)

The silver coins struck during the reign of *Gheiâth ed-dîn Kai Khosru* hold a conspicuous place in oriental numismatics, and form a distinguished feature of this Collection, which contains nine specimens in good preservation, some of them of the same year, but all from different dies. They exhibit, in workmanship by no means contemptible, the figure of a lion passant, surmounted by a sun, or Sol in the constellation of Leo, under which, in those days of judicial astrology, it may be presumed that

that either the sultan himself, or some person particularly dear to him, was born.(1) SILVER, An. 634-640A.

As they express both the name of the prince and that of the khalif *Mostanser*, their dates, generally, must fall between the year 634, when the reign of the former commenced, and 640, when the latter died; embracing the short period of six or seven years. With respect however to the individual dates, there is an obscurity in some of them of a peculiar nature, not arising from obliteration, nor the difficulties of an ill-formed character, but either from an enigmatical mode of denoting the numbers, or from a design (connected perhaps with astrological scruples) to conceal the particular years in which they were coined.

In this dirhem which I have placed as the first of the series, the century (سنة 600) is perfectly plain, whilst in the room of the decimal and unit, we find the word or letters الف *alif*, which, although in Arabic enumeration it stands for 1000, has here no appropriate meaning, nor can any applicable date be composed from taking the characters singly and

(1) The character of this sultan and the occasion of his emblematic medals are thus spoken of by Abu'lfaraj: "Fuit autem stultiloquio et vino deditus, viam minimè laudabilem insistens, cupiditatibus exitiosis indulgens. Filiam regis Georgianorum in uxorem duxit, quam perditè amavit; eòque ejus amore ductus est, ut imaginem ipsius monetæ imprimi vellet. Datum est autem ei consilium, ut figuram Leonis, cui insisteret Sol, effingeret, ut ita horoscopum ipsius referret, votique interim compos fieret." Historia Dynastiarum, p. 319. For many curious particulars respecting the modern use of this emblem, which is rendered equivalent to an Order of knighthood, see the History of Persia by my gallant and accomplished friend Sir John Malcolm, vol. II. p. 563, from which I transcribe the following note: "The causes which have led to the sign of Sol in Leo becoming the arms of Persia cannot be distinctly traced; but there is reason to believe that the use of this symbol is not of very great antiquity. We meet with it upon the coins of one of the princes of the Seljûkian dynasty of Iconium; and when this family was destroyed by Hulaku, the grandson of Chenghiz, it is not improbable but that prince, or his successors, adopted this emblematical representation, as a trophy of their conquest; and that it has remained ever since among the most remarkable of the royal insignia of Persia. A learned friend, who has a valuable Collection of oriental coins, and whose information and opinions have enabled me to make this conjecture, states his belief that the emblematical representation of Sol in Leo was first adopted by Gheat-u-dîn Kai Khusru ben Kai Kobâd, who began to reign A.H. 634 (1236), and died 642 (1244); and this emblem, he adds, is supposed to have reference either to his own horoscope, or to that of his queen, who was a princess of Georgia." The earliest engravings of the Lion and Sun as an emblem, are in the Persian Travels of Tavernier (1676), and in a map annexed to the "Relation de la cour du Mogol," in Thevenot's Collection (1672).

SILVER, An. 634-640A. and giving them their respective value, on the principle of the ابجد *abjed* or numeral alphabet.

It is precisely a duplicate of the Seljukian coin preserved in the Cabinet of the king of France and described by M. l'Abbé Barthélemy, in his "Dissertation sur les Médailles Arabes," Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, t. XXVI. p. 568. where the learned antiquary has not only omitted to give any interpretation of the enigmatical letters الف, which appear distinctly in his engraving of the medal, but has cautiously avoided saying one word on the subject of the date.

XC. XCI.

غياث الدين كيخسرو بن كيقباد *GHEIÂTH-ED-DÎN KAI KHOSRU BEN KAI KOBÂD.*

SILVER, An. 634-640B.

I. AREA. Sol in constellatione Leonis, cum duabus stellis et luna crescente.

MARGIN. As in the preceding dirhem.

II. AREA. السلطان الاعظم كيخسرو بن كيقباد

Sultanus maximus *Kai Khosru ben Kai Kobád.*

MARGIN. ضرب هذا الدرهم بسيواس في
سنه عاد (or عيد) ثلثين ستمايه

Cuditur hæc drachma in *Síwás*, anno 63. (123.) (1 dw. 15½ gr.)

In this specimen, which differs little from the dirhem last described, the century and decimal are expressed in the usual manner, but in place of the unit stand three letters that appear to be عاد or عيد, the import of which is involved in as much obscurity as that of الف on the former coin. I had hopes of finding a solution in the names of the twelve years constituting

stituting the Turkish or Ighur cycle; none of which, however, bear any resemblance to these combinations.(1) SILVER, An. 634-640 B.

The epithet of dignity annexed to the title of sultan is, on the coinage of some reigns, written معظم, and of others اعظم (from the root عظم); both of which are indifferently translated maximus, supremus, although according to Golius they should rather be in the comparative than the superlative degree. This unimportant difference is noticed because it has given occasion to some critical discussion between two eminent scholars.(2)

The dirhems of this reign coined at *Siwâs* are to be distinguished from those of *Kuniyah* by the area of the former being a square inclosed by the straight lines which connect the characters of the marginal or lateral inscription, and by the omission (excepting in one instance at the close of the reign) of the prænomen of the sultan, which in those struck at *Kuniyah* is always inserted. In the latter also the words of the margin are engraved in the modern *niskhi* character and cursive style.

Another dirhem of the same class, differing only in the still more imperfect circumstances of the date, the century alone appearing, has the following words:

ضرب هذا ..... بسيواس في
سنه ..... ستمايه

Cuditur hæc ..... in *Siwâs*, anno 6 .. (1 dw. 21 gr.)

(1) This difficulty appears to have been equally insurmountable to T. Ch. Tychsen, who in place of the minor numbers of the date finds only an unintelligible word. "Sed in anni nota (he says) obscurum est ابو (perhaps what I read الف) quod etiam in sequenti .... Iconii cuso recurrit. Occupat hæc vox spatium quo numerus denarius اربعين scribendus erat." "Hic iterum istud ابو recurrit ..... pro خمسين hic accipiendum." Comment. de numis Selgiuc. et Mogol. p. 100.

(2) "Sed fallitur vir doct. in eo, quod mendose in numo exaratum putet العظم pro العظيم ... Legitur ibi, ut in nostro, المعظم." Adler, Collect. nova, p. 80.

XCII.

XCII.

غياث الدين كيخسرو بن كيقباد *GHEIÂTH-ED-DÎN KAI KHOSRU BEN KAI KOBÂD.*

Silver, An. 638.

I. Area. Sol in constellatione Leonis, cum duabus stellis. الامام.

Margin. *Imâm Al-Mostanser* &c. as in the preceding.

II. Area. As in the preceding.

Margin. ضرب هذا ..... بسيواس
سنه ثمان وثلثين و ستمايه

Cuditur hæc .... in *Siwâs*, anno 638 (1240). (1 dw. 20½ gr.)

In this dirhem the date of 638 is sufficiently distinct. Its chief peculiarity is, that the characters composing the word الامام are placed on either side of the figure of the sun, instead of forming, as usual, a part of the marginal inscription. Like the former, it has two asterisks accompanying the figure.

XCIII.

غياث الدين كيخسرو بن كيقباد *GHEIÂTH-ED-DÎN KAI KHOSRU BEN KAI KOBÂD.*

Silver, An. 639.

I. Area. Sol in constellatione &c. cum duabus stellis.

Margin. الامام المستنصر بالله امير المومنين
Imâm Al-Mostanser &c. as in the preceding.

II. Area. As in the preceding.

Margin. ضرب هذا ..... سيواس في
سنه تسع الف or ابو

Cuditur hæc ..... *Siwâs*, anno ..9 (1241). (1 dw. 20½ gr.)

Instead

Instead of a perfect date we find on this dirhem only the word تسع 9, in the place of the unit, accompanied by the letters الف (or ابو, as read by T. Ch. Tychsen), already noticed on that of the year 634-40 A. or first of the series exhibiting the Sun in Leo, and of which the meaning has not been discovered. That the enigma was not confined to one mint appears from this being struck at *Sîwâs* and the other at *Kuniyah*. The deficiency of words or letters marked in the transcription by . . . . . is from omissions in the original cutting of the die, and not the consequence of obliteration. SILVER, An. 639.

XCIV.—XCVII.

غياث الدين كيخسرو بن كيقباد *GHEIÂTH-ED-DÎN KAI KHOSRU BEN KAI KOBÂD.*

I. AREA. Sol in constellatione Leonis, cum duabus stellis. SILVER, An. 639.

MARGIN. As in the preceding.

II. AREA. As in the preceding.

MARGIN. ضرب بقونيه سنه تسع يا مايه

Cuditur in *Kuniyah*, anno 639 (1241). (1 dw. 19 gr. 1 dw. 16¾ gr. 1 dw. 15 gr. 1 dw. 21 gr.)

Here the unit alone is perfectly distinct, and for the decimal and century we find two characters resembling يا, the signification of which (any more than of those on some preceding dirhems) is not understood. Of the date itself no doubt can be entertained, as the unit 9 can belong to no other year between 634 and 640.

Another dirhem of the same year and same place, is not precisely from the same die, inasmuch as the final letters of the word المومنين are placed in the one to the right, and in the other to the left of the figure of the sun. The obscure letters يا equally occur, but the word مايه is less perfect.

A third

87512

Silver, An. 639. A third, coined at *Sîwâs*, has the units and century distinct, with some strokes of the decimal ثلثين 30.

A fourth, having the same general appearance as the coins of *Sîwâs*, but with traces of a name, almost obliterated, that do not strictly justify that reading, has the unit and century distinct, and the decimal nearly complete. All these belong to the year 639.

XCVIII.

غياث الدين كيخسرو بن كيقباد *GHEIÂTH-ED-DÎN KAI KHOSRU BEN KAI KOBÂD.*

Silver, An. 640.

I. Area. Sol in constellatione Leonis, cum tribus stellis.

Margin. As in the preceding.

II. Area. As in the preceding.

Margin. ... بسيواس ... اربعين وست مايه

..... in *Sîwâs*, anno 640 (1242). (1 dw. 19 gr.)

In this latest dirhem of *Gheiath-ed-dîn Kai Khosru*, who died in 642, the lines inclosing Area II. are triple and ornamented, the characters of the inscription are much improved, and the words of which the date consists are more perfect than in any others exhibiting the sun in the constellation of Leo. It is likewise the only coin from the mint of *Sîwâs* in which the sultan's title of *Gheiath-ed-duniya wa ed-dîn* is given to him.

It was in this year that the khalif *Mostanser* died; an event that we may presume to have been unknown at the time this die was cut, and his name accordingly appears on the coin. Of the title of المستعصم, only the first syllable is engraved.

In the latter part of the reign of this prince, the power of the Moghuls, which overwhelmed whatever opposed it, approached the dominions of

of the sultans of *Rûm* (as these Turkomâns of Asia minor were styled), and great, but ineffectual efforts were made by *Kai Khosru*, in conjunction with all the neighbouring states, as well Christian as Mahometan, to stop its progress. The genius of *Hulâgu khân* (the grandson of *Jengiz*) prevailed, and from this period the Seljukian princes may be considered as his vassals. SILVER, An. 640.

The diacritical points belonging to the modern Arabic (supposed to have been invented by *Ibn Moklah*, about the commencement of the fourth century of the *hejrah*) are in general applied to the characters of this coin, as they have been partially, and not always correctly, to some of the preceding; among which it may be observed that those struck latterly at *Kuniyah* have points over the ت and ق, whilst those of *Sîwâs* have them over the خ only. In this dirhem the last letter of غياث has but a single point. The progress of the reformed alphabet must therefore have been very slow.

XCIX.

عزالدين كيكاوس بن كيخسرو *AZZ-ED-DÎN KAI KÂUS BEN KAI KHOSRU,*

Thirteenth sultan.

I. AREA. السلطان الاعظم ظل الله في العلم — SILVER, An. 643 or 6.

عزّالدنيا و الدين كيكاوس بن كيخسرو

Sultanus maximus, umbra Dei in mundo, *Azz-ed-duniya wa ed-dîn, Kai Kâus ben Kai Khosru.*

MARGIN. ضرب هذا الدرهم .....

Cuditur hæc drachma .....

II. AREA.

SILVER, An. 643 or 6.

II. AREA. لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
الامام المستعصم بالله امير المومنين

Third symbol. *Imâm Al-Mostàsem-billah* imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN. سنه ... واربعين وستمايه

anno 64 (6) 1248. (1 dw. 8½ gr.)

After the death of *Gheiâth-ed-dîn Kai Khosru*, in 643, the combined figures of the lion and sun, having reference to a particular horoscope, no longer appear upon the coinage of the Seljukian sultans; although afterwards adopted by the monarchs of Persia, as their emblem. That sultan, in the latter part of whose reign the kingdom was invaded by the irresistible arms of the Moghuls, had nominally for his successors in the government his three sons, but the regal power was vested in *Azz-ed-dîn Kai Kâus*, the eldest. The extraordinary title of ظل الله في العلم "umbra Dei in mundo" which we here find him assuming, is supposed by Adler to have appeared on a dirhem of 642, belonging to the reign of his father. It is remarkable, however, that it should not occur on any one of the numerous specimens of his coinage in this Collection, and I cannot divest myself of the suspicion that the name of غياث *Gheiâth* has been read by mistake for عز *Azz*, both beginning with letters the form of which in Cufic is the same, and in the *nishki* characters differing only by a point; whilst the date of 642, if correctly read, is common to the reigns both of the father and son.(1)

The century in the date of this dirhem is perfectly distinct, and the word اربعين 40 is legible, the first two characters, ار being in the preceeding compartment; as is not uncommon. Of the unit it can only be said that the contracted space does not admit of a longer word than ثلث 3 or ست 6, which terminate in the same Cufic letter. We are therefore left in uncertainty respecting the particular year; but as it was in 646 that the partition of the kingdom took place, when the south-western part of Asia minor, comprehending the city of *Kuniyah* or Iconium,

(1) The death of *Gheiâth-ed-dîn Kai Khosru*, which happened in 642 according to Abu'lfaraj and other authorities, is erroneously placed by Abu'lfeda in 654.

nium, fell to his share,(2) and he no longer reigned in conjunction with his brothers, it is reasonable to suppose this coin, on which his name stands singly, to have been struck in the latter rather than the former of those two years. Although the name of the place is obliterated, the general appearance of the impression, as well as the *nishki* characters of the marginal inscription, leave no doubt of its being from the mint of *Kuniyah*. SILVER, An. 646.

The khalif *Mostàsem* whose name occurs instead of that of *Mostanser*, succeeded in the year 640, upon the death of his father, and was the last of his race.

C.

ركن الدين قلج ارسلان بن كيخسرو *RUKN-ED-DÎN KILIJ ARSLÂN BEN KAI KHOSRU,*

Thirteenth sultan.

I. AREA. Figura principis equo insidentis, arcam tendentis. In parte inferiore stella. SILVER, An. 656.

MARGIN. السلطان الاعظم ركن الدنيا و الدين قلج
ارسلان بن كيخسرو قسم امير المومنين

Sultanus maximus *Rukn-ed-duniya wa ed-dîn Kilij Arslân ben Kai Khosru*, teste (adjurato) imperatore Fidelium.

II. AREA. الامام المستعصم بالله امير المومنين

Imâm Al-Mostàsem-billah imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN. ضرب هذا الدرهم بسيواس سنه
ست و خمسين وستمايه

Cuditur hæc drachma in *Siwâs*, anno 656 (1258). (1 dw. 15½ gr.)

 The

(2) "In hoc consenserunt, ut regiones inter duos fratres partirentur; essentque *Iconium, Akserа, Ancyra, Anatolia*, reliquæque provinciæ occidentales *Ezzo'ddino*, *Cæsarea* verò, *Siwas, Malatia,*

SILVER, An. 656. The Seljukian kingdom which was ruled by the two brothers *Azz-ed-dîn* and *Rukn-ed-dîn* until the year 646, conjointly, and afterwards by partition, but in a state of mutual animosity and contention, devolved wholly to the latter about the year 655;(1) from which period to the year 666, he enjoyed a nominal authority under the controul of the Moghul conquerors of Asia. On this dirhem, which is in tolerable preservation, he is represented on horseback, with stirrups, and in the act of discharging an arrow from a bow.

The unit of the date is distinctly six: the decimal and century are but faintly legible; yet as the reign may be considered as having begun in 655, and the khalif *Mostàsem*, whose name appears on the coin, perished in 656 (or 658 according to some authorities) there can be little reason to doubt of its having been struck in the early part of that year.

The introduction of the unaccustomed phrase beginning with قسم "teste (adjurato) imperatore fidelium" is remarkable, and I confess that in my first transcription of the legend (many years since) I had written it بسم "in nomine," misled by the familiar recurrence of the latter word. The three characters of the former are, however, perfectly plain, and as the phrase of قسم بالله *kesemi billah* is translated by Meninski, "Deum testem appellare," so may قسم امير المومنين *kesemi amîr al-mûmenîn* be considered as adjuring the head of the musulmân religion to attest the validity of his (the sultan's) title. On a dirhem of the same date, but without the equestrian figure, T. Ch. Tychsen finds the still more peculiar expression of برهان امير المومنين *berhân amîr al-mûmenîn* "præfectus principis fidelium."

latia, Arzengan, Arzen-Rum, aliæque provinciæ orientales *Rucno'ddino*; quin et *Ala'ddino*, fratri minori, possessiones privatas assignârunt, quæ ipsi sufficerent. "Monetam autem trium istorum nomine cudi fecerunt." Abu'lfaraj. Histor. Dynast. p. 321.

(1) There was also a third brother, named *Ala-ed-dîn*, who never possessed any authority or separate dominion, but whose name appears on a celebrated dirhem of 649, along with those of his two brothers. This is described by Adler, Collect. nova, p. 81; by O. G. Tychsen, Introduct. p. 88; and by T. Ch. Tychsen, Comment. de num. Selgiuc. p. 99, who gives (p. 98 and 101) an excellent epitome of this part of the Seljukian history.

CI.

ركن الدين قلج ارسلان *RUKN-ED-DÎN KILIJ ARSLÂN.*

SILVER, An. 656-66.

I. AREA. السلطان الاعظم ركن الدنيا والدين
قلج ارسلان بن كيخسرو

Sultanus maximus *Rukn-ed-duniya wa ed-dín Kilij Arslán ben Kai Khosru.*

II. AREA. Gratiâ Dei. المنه لله

MARGIN. ضرب بمدينه قونيه في سنه بدر

Cuditur in urbe *Kuniyah*, anno .... (1 dw. 20½ gr.)

The date of this coin, as has been observed with respect to some others of the fine series which it closes, is rendered unintelligible by the evident intention of the artist. After سنه anno, instead of the numeral words denoting the year, we find only the characters ندر which taken together signify the moon, and cannot separately be referred to any known system of alphabetical numeration.(1) What immediately follows them is the only part of the inscription in any degree obliterated. A remarkable circumstance, however, enables us to ascertain that it belongs to a year subsequent to the date of the dirhem last described, which contained the name of the unfortunate khalif *Mostâsem*, but which is here omitted, in consequence of his violent death and the extinction of the house of *Al-Abbâs*, in 656. Instead of the name and title of the commander of the Faithful (held in veneration notwithstanding the political insignificance and personal debasement of the latter khalifs(2)) we find the area of this coin occupied, for the first time, by the words المنه لله, signifying literally "by the grace of God;" a peculiarity that limits its date to the interval between 656 and 666, when the sultan died. In the Milan Collection this peculiar phrase first occurs on a coin of 660. In that of Göttingen, in the year 663.

It is worthy of notice that no gold coin of this dynasty has been discovered.

(1) See Remarks on the coins of this dynasty for the years 634-40 A, 634-40 B, and 639.

(2) "Is ergo princeps *(Mostàsem)* erat hebes, imbecillis consilii, pravarum artium, ideoque imperio bene gerendo prorsus impar." Abu'lfeda, Annal. Mosl. t. IV. p. 555.

TURKOMAN ORTOKITES.

ABOUT the period when the *Seljúks* made their irruption into Persia, another family of Turks, afterwards known by the appellation of Turkoman Ortokites, descended into Syria, from the western side of the Caspian or country of the *Comans;* to which local origin some attribute their name, as if compounded of *Turk* and *Coman.* It may rather be supposed that the last syllable of ترکمان *Turkmán* is a mere Persian formative (like مسلمان *musulmán*), the term being applied generally to those Turks (whether Seljúks or Ortokites) who, having migrated from *Turkistán,* established themselves in the south-western parts of Asia, or perhaps more strictly to their descendants, but not to the native inhabitants of any part of Tartary.(1)

The *Amîr Ortok* امیر ارتق, son of *Aksak,* who was the common ancestor of the princes of this race, being in a condition that enabled him to seize upon the city of Jerusalem, constituted himself king, and died in 484–1091, leaving two sons, the one named *Il-Ghâzi* ایل‌غازي, and the other, *Sokmán* سقمان. These maintained possession of their inheritance until expelled from it by the forces of the Fatimite khalif of Egypt, in 489–1096, when the former obtained an establishment in *Irak Arabi,* and the latter in *Diarbekr.* Upon the death, however, of *Sokmán, Il-Ghâzi* wrested from his son the city or fortress of *Mardîn* مردین, from whence his descendants have been styled kings of *Mardîn* and its neighbouring city, *Miáfárkín* میافارقین, as those of his brother have been styled kings of *Amid* آمد and *Kheifá* خیفا.

ORTOKITE

(1) "Turkoman," says the author of the History of Persia, "is an abbreviated compound of *Turk-manund:* the latter term signifies 'resembling.' The etymology of this name is at once so simple and so probable, that we can hardly doubt its correctness." Vol. II. p. 240. The doubt would have less strength in my mind, if the same termination did not equally belong to other words where the explanation here given would not apply.

ORTOKITE PRINCES REIGNING IN MARDÎN,

OF THE RACE OF

		A.H.	A.D.
1. *Il Ghâzi ben Ortok*	ايل‌غازي بن ارتق		
2. *Husâm-ed-dîn Timurtâsh ben Il-Ghâzi*	حسام الدين تمرتاش بن ايل‌غازي	516	1122
3. *Nejm-ed-dîn Abu'l Modhaffer Albi ben Timurtâsh*	نجم الدين ابو المظفر البي بن تمرتاش	547	1152
4. *Kotb-ed-dîn Il-Ghâzi ben Albi* (or *Alpi*)	قطب الدين ايل غازي بن البي	572	1176
5. *Husâm-ed-dîn Yûluk Arslân ben Kotb-ed-dîn*	حسام الدين يولق ارسلان بن قطب الدين	580	1184
6. *Malek al-Mansûr Nâser-ed-dîn Ortok Arslân ben Kotb-ed-dîn*	ملك المنصور ناصر الدين ارتق ارسلان بن قطب الدين	597?	
7. *Malek es-Sâïd Nejm-ed-dîn Ghâzi ben Nâser-ed-dîn Ortok Arslân*	ملك السعيد نجم الدين غازي بن ناصر الدين ارتق ارسلان	637	1239
8. *Malek al-Modhaffer Karâ Arslân ben Nejm ed-dîn*	ملك المظفر قرا ارسلان بن نجم الدين	653	1255
9. *Shems-ed-dîn Dâoüd*	شمس الدين داود	691	1291
10. *Malek al-Mansûr Nejm-ed-dîn Ghâzi*	ملك المنصور نجم الدين غازي	693	1293
11. *Albi Malek al-Adil Imâd-ed-dîn Ali*	البي ملك العادل عماد الدين علي	712	1312
12. *Malek as-Sâleh Shams-ed-dîn Sâleh*	ملك الصالح شمس الدين صالح	712	1312

CII.

حسام الدين تمرتاش بن ايل غازي *HUSÂM-AL-DÎN TIMURTÂSH BEN IL-GHÂZI,*

Second Ortokite prince of the Il-Ghâzi *branch.*

COPPER, An. 516-547.

I. AREA. Imitamen capitis Antiochi VII. regis Syriæ, e nummis Græcis fictum.

II. AREA. الملك العالم العادل حسام الدين

SIDES. تمرتاش بن ايل غازي بن ارتق

Rex sapiens, justus, *Husâm-ed-dîn ben Timurtâsh ben Il-Ghâzi ben Ortok.*

Of *Il-Ghâzi* the son of *Ortok*, founder of the dynasty (as frequently happens) there is no coin extant, and it is probable that he did not coin money. This copper piece belongs to the reign of his son. Its denomination not being expressed, and its appearance being so unlike the *fels* or oboli that have hitherto presented themselves, I cannot venture to call it by that name.(1) The head it exhbiits is imitated from the Greek coins or medals of Syria, and supposed to represent that of Antiochus II, nor is the execution to be despised, although the figures which will be found in the sequel are for the most part extremely rude. Their appearance on the money of people professing islaemism should not excite much surprise, when we consider that they were in the vicinity of nations which had, from early times, set an example of the practice, and that the propensity to imitation as well as the gratification of vanity would naturally lead to its adoption, whilst there was nothing to prevent it but an injunction of the *korân*, little influencing the consciences of these Turkomâns, who were converts from policy only, and no longer in dread of the khalifat, the powers of which were exercised by military adventurers like themselves.

A coin

(1) It will be seen hereafter that these copper coins with figures were in some instances denominated dirhems, and there is reason to believe that they were made to pass current as such.

A coin similar to this, preserved in the cabinet of the King of France, has been described, with an engraving, by the Abbé Barthélemy, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. t. xxvi. p. 560. Under the head (upon the neck), in my specimen, may be distinguished the name of نجم الدين *Nejm-ed-dîn*, the son and successor of *Husâm-ed-dîn*, which appears to have been impressed for the object of legalising the currency of money belonging to a preceding reign. Following the name of the reigning king there is a peculiar mark, which is found also on the specimen described by M. Barthélemy. COPPER, An. 516-547.

No date appears on the coin, nor does any circumstance present itself from which we can infer a narrower limit than that of his whole reign, or from 516 to 547.

CIII.

نجم الدين ابوالمظفر البي بن تمرتاش *NEJM-ED-DÎN ABÛ'L MODHAFFER ALBI BEN TIMURTÂSH,*

Third prince.

I. AREA. Caput Antiochi VII. regis Syriæ. COPPER, An. 547-572.

II. AREA. ملك الامرا ابو المظفر البي بن تمرتاش
بن ايل غازي بن ارتق

Malek al-amra (rex principum) *Abû'l Modhaffer Albi ben Timurtâsh ben Il-Ghâzi ben Ortok.*

Although the money of a different Ortokite prince, the head on this coin represents the same Syro-Macedonian king; but the die is not so well cut, and the expression of the countenance has less beauty than the former. On the neck there is, as on the preceding specimen, a countermark containing the words نجم الدين ملك دياربكر *Nejm-ed-dîn* rex Diarbekr; but it is not easy to comprehend for what purpose a sovereign should imprint such a stamp on his own currency.

The

COPPER, An. 547-572.

The date is entirely wanting, and the year in which this prince died being unknown to Abu'lfeda (who avows his ignorance) and to the generality of historians, we should be deprived of the usual means of approximation, but for the Chronicon Syriacum of Abu'lfaraj, which says (in the translation of Bruns and Kirsch): "Hoc anno (1176) desiit vivere Aldinus (a barbarous Latinism of *al-dîn*, or *ed-dîn* as pronounced by the Arabians) dominus Mardini, qui per 22 annos quibus regnavit, valde benevolus fuit in Christianos, ecclesias et monasteria. In ejus locum suffectus est Koteb Aldin filius ejus." P. 386. From this information we are only enabled to say that the coinage could not have been earlier than 547 nor later than 572.

Another specimen has the same legend, without the countermark. On a third specimen it is deeply imprinted on the back of the head. The title of ملك الامرا *malek al-amra* 'rex principum' is peculiar, I believe, to the races of *Ortok* and *Zengi*.

CIV.

نجم الدين *NEJM-ED-DÎN.*

COPPER, An. 547-580.

I. AREA. Capita duo, vultibus oppositis.

نجم الدين ملك دياربكر

Nejm-ed-dîn rex Diarbekr.

II. AREA. Figuræ duæ, positione erecta.

ابو المظفر البي بن تمرتاش بن ايل غازي بن ارتق

Abu'l Modhaffer Albi ben Timurtâsh ben Il-Ghâzi ben Ortok.

The heads on this coin also (of which there are three specimens) evidently display the character of Greek or Roman models, however imperfectly imitated. Their original is supposed no longer to exist; but the two upright figures on the Reverse are pronounced by Barthélemy to

to have been copied from a medal of Romanus Diogenes.(1) Their adoption by these *Turkomán* princes seems to have been entirely matter of caprice, without any reference to the history of their own times. COPPER, An. 547-580.

CV.

نجم الدين *NEJM-ED-DÍN.*

I. AREA. Caput mulieris. COPPER, An. 558.

MARGIN. الملك العالم العادل نجم الدين ملك دياربكر

Rex sapiens, justus, *Nejm-ed-dín*, rex Diarbekr.

II. AREA. Caput principis.

MARGIN. ابو المظفر البي بن تمرتاش بن ايل‌غازي بن ارتق سنه

SIDES. ثمان وخمسين و خمس مايه

Abu Al-Modhaffer Albi ben Timurtásh ben Il-Gházi ben Ortok.
Anno 558 (1162).

The legend of this coin is more circumstantial than those of the preceding, and contains the first positive date. The name of the khalif, however,

(1) "Sur un des côtés sont deux têtes en regard, toutes deux ceintes d'une diadème, et l'une et l'autre vrai-semblablement copiées d'après quelque médaille grecque que nous n'avons plus. Car il est certain qu'elle ne représente pas deux princes Mahométans, et c'est ce qui suffit pour l'objet que je me suis proposé dans ce Mémoire. Le revers sert encore mieux à le developper. On y voit deux figures debout, dont l'un a la tête environnée d'un nimbe ou d'un cercle de lumière, et met sur l'autre une couronne de perles..... Ce type est emprunté des médailles des Empereurs de Constantinople, et nous prierons ceux qui voudront s'en convaincre, de rapprocher de la médaille de Nojmeddin celle de l'empereur Romanus Diogénès, qui est gravée sous le n°. 4, et qui représente ce prince couronné par le mains de la S^te. Vierge; ce sont en effet, de part et d'autre, les mêmes figures, &c." T. XXVI, p. 562. Castiglioni, on the contrary, observes that it is copied from a gold coin of Constantinus Ducas, and represents the Virgin Mary placing her hand upon the head of that emperor.

COPPER, An. 558. however, *(Al-Mostanjed)* is not expressed. The female head (if such it be) probably represented one of the empresses of Constantinople, and its costume has nothing remarkable; but the crown or head-dress of the male figure is extraordinary. Castiglioni remarks its resemblance to that of the Aragonic kings of Sicily.

CVI.

نجم الدين *NEJM-ED-DÎN.*

COPPER, An. 555-566.

I. AREA. Caput minoris moduli.

MARGIN. نجم الدين البي بن ايل‌غازي
ابن ارتق ملك دياربكر

Nejm-ed-dîn Albi s. *Alpi ben Il-Ghâzi ibn Ortok,* rex Diarbekr.

II. AREA. Capita duo. Third symbol.

SIDES. المستنجد بالله امير المومنين

Al-Mostanjed-billah imperator Fidelium.

This coin has not only a small head on what may be considered as the Obverse, but also two, much resembling each other, on the Reverse. If imitated from the Greek, as there is reason from analogy to suppose, I am not able to ascertain the prototype. It is the first belonging to this dynasty on which the name of the reigning khalif is found; a circumstance that allows of our approximating more nearly to the date of coinage, as *Mostanjed* succeeded to the khalifat in 555, and died in 566.

It may be observed that *Nejm-ed-dîn*, who, on preceding coins, is styled the son of *Timurtâsh* (as history informs us he actually was[1]) here

(1) " Eodem anno (547) obiit *Hasamo' ddin Tamartâsh*, Maredini et Miyapharekini dominus, cùm ultra triginta annos imperasset; succedente ipsi filio suo *Nojmo' ddino Alebbio.*" Historia Dynastiarum, ex interpretatione Edvardi Pocockii, p. 257.

here omits the intermediate patronymic, and calls himself *ben Il-Ghâzi*. There are three specimens with the same heads and same inscriptions, all in fair preservation, but having slight differences that shew them not to be from the same die. COPPER, An. 555-566.

CVII.

نجم الدين *NEJM-ED-DÎN.*

I. AREA. Caput minoris moduli. COPPER, An. 566-575.

نجم الدين البي بن ايل‌غازي بن ارتق ملك دياربكر

Nejm-ed-dín Albi ben Il-Ghâzi ben Ortok, rex Dairbekr.

II. AREA. Capita duo. Third symbol.

المستضي بامر الله

Al-Mostadhi beamr-illah.

The two specimens of this coin resemble generally the coin last described, having the same heads on either side, but differ from it in the name of the khalif, which was there *Mostanjed*, and is here *Mostadhi*. As the latter succeeded his father in 566 and died in 575, the coinage must have taken place within that period.

CVIII.

قطب الدين ايل‌غازي بن البي *KOTB-ED-DÎN IL-GHAZI BEN ALBI;*

Fourth prince.

I. AREA. Effigies duæ, una adulti, altera impuberis. COPPER, An. 577.

MARGIN. ... ع سبعين خمس مايه

(Anno) 57 (7) 1181.

COPPER, An. 577.

II. AREA. الناصر الدين (لدين الله) امير المومنين
هذ الدرهم ميعفرقين ....

Al-Náser-ed-dín (ledín illah) imperator Fidelium. Hæc drachma, *Miàfarkín* .....

SIDES. قطب الدين بن نجم الدين بن حسام (الدين)
Koth-ed-dín ben Nejm-ed-dín ben Husám (ed-dín).

This copper coin we are authorised by the legend to call a dirhem, although, under the khalifs, that term was appropriated to the silver money. The figures on it are supposed by Barthélemy to represent the persons of the emperors Heraclius and Heraclius Constantinus his son, and by others, Isaac Angelus Comnenus and his son Alexius. My specimen is in but indifferent preservation, and evidently inferior to that belonging to the cabinet of the king of France, if we may judge from the engraving of it in t. XXVI. de l'Acad. des Inscript., where the numeral سبع seven, in the date, is distinctly expressed, whilst in mine the last letter only is perceptible.

In the inscription generally there are several inaccuracies proceeding from the inattention or ignorance of the artist. The name of the khalif ناصر لدين الله *Náser-ledîn-illah,* who succeeded *Mostadhi* in the year 575, is both imperfectly and incorrectly given. The Arabic words corresponding to "hæc drachma" are not accompanied by another expressive of "cuditur," nor does the word سنه "anno" precede the date, as usual. Even the name of the city, ميافرقين *Miáfarkín,* (situated above *Mardín* on the Tigris) where the money was coined, is written differently from what we find it in the historians and geographers. The sentence, also, of which the inscription is composed must be understood to begin with the name of the Ortokite prince, and to close with the date: but this last is here placed round the heads of the figures, where we should naturally look for the commencement.

At the bottom of the lines in Area II. some characters appear that I am unable to explain, and it is remarkable that almost all who have written on the subject of these coins have left the difficulty unnoticed. The word, as it appears on this specimen, bears some resemblance to

زعمه

نعبه. In Barthélemy's plate the characters are distinctly given, and may be read فينه or, according to Eichhorn, قريه, but no reference to the word is made in his Mémoire. De Guignes, who furnishes a translation of this legend, in l'Hist. gen. des Huns (t. I. p. 250), seems to supply its meaning by the otherwise superfluous word "chateau" (de Miafarekin); whilst Adler (Collect. nov. p. 97) who leaves a blank for it in the Arabic, introduces in his translation the word "(excusa)," as if intended for its equivalent. The learned Reiske, at the same time that he denotes it by the imperfect characters بعلعا, makes no attempt at explanation, and fails indeed to make out the name of the place, which he writes مرتعين.[1] Instead of سبع seven, the unit of the date as it appears in the Mémoires of the Academy, he reads تسع nine; but it is probable that the specimen belonging to the French cabinet (well engraved as we find it) was examined with a greater degree of attention than Reiske bestowed on the subject. COPPER, An. 577.

CIX. CX.

حسام الدين يولق ارسلان *HUSÂM-ED-DÎN YÛLUK ARSLÂN,*

Fifth prince.

I. AREA. Effigies principis in sellam humilem sedentis, manu globum tenentis: pessime depicta. COPPER, An. 575-589.

MARGIN. يولق .... *Yúluk* ...

II. AREA. الملك الناصر صلاح الدنيا و الدين .....

Malek Al-Nâser Saláh-ed-duniya wa ed-dín (Salahdin) .....

SIDES. .... الله امير المومنين

(*Imám Al-Náser-ledín-*) *illah* imperator Fidelium.

Of

(1) His respectable commentator, Eichhorn, candidly says: "Die lezten Worte, welche vielleicht aus dem Koran geborgt sind, konnte Reiske nicht recht lesen." Repertorium XVIII^r. Th. 44 bl.

COPPER, An. 575-589.

Of this coin, imperfect as its marginal inscriptions are, we can only say, that from the word يولق *Yúluk*, which happens to be distinct on one specimen, and some imperfect characters on another, it appears to belong to *Husâm-ed-dîn*, who alone bore that name or epithet. The date is not perceptible, but as the Area of II. contains the name of *Sâlah-ed-dîn*, who died in 589, and the sides, that of the khalif who began to reign in 575, it is brought within the limits of fourteen years, or, as *Husâm's* accession took place in 580, within nine.

The workmanship is of the rudest kind, and it is not easy to account for the disparity of execution between what we see here and upon other money of the same period. A novice, indeed, may have been allowed to try his hand. Adler, who describes and gives an engraving of the same coin, thinks he reads in the Margin the word بموصل "Musulæ," and thence properly infers that it should be assigned to the Atabeg prince, *Azz-ed-dîn Mausûd*, who then reigned at Mosul. It seems to me, however, that those characters form the middle part of the word المومنين "Fidelium," and belong to the title of the khalif, not to the place; and my opinion of its having been struck in the reign of *Husâm* is strongly corroborated by Assemani's reading of a similar coin. Mus. Naniano, nº. XL. p. xxxviii. It must at the same time be observed that the engraving he has given bears as little resemblance to the Ortokite figure, as the latter does to any thing human.

CXI.

قطب الدين ايل غازي بن البي *KOTB-ED-DÎN IL-GHÂZI BEN ALBI.*

COPPER, An. 572-580.

I. AREA. Caput juvenis, in quadra, sursùm aspiciens.

MARGIN. بن البي بن تمرتاش بن ايل غازي بن ارتق

Ben Albi ben Timurtâsh ben Il-Ghâzi ben Ortok.

II. AREA.

II. Area. ايل‌غازي لمولانا المالك العالم العادل
قطب الدين ملك الامراء شاه دياربكر

Copper, An. 572-580.

Il-Ghâzi domino nostro regi sapienti, justo, *Koth-ed-dín, Malek al-amra, shâh Diarbekr.*

I do not find that any conjecture has been made by Barthélemy or other learned medallists, as to the antique original from which this not inelegant head may have been copied.(1) The position of the countenance seems to express adoration. Although the side of a coin on which the head appears is usually considered as the obverse or I. yet the words by which it is here surrounded in four compartments, are the latter part of a sentence that begins on the opposite side with the name of *Il-Ghâzi*, being that of the reigning prince as well as of his ancestor. The disposition of these words is peculiar, but the order in which we should read them (top, bottom, behind, and before the head) is easily determined from the known genealogy.

From the circumstance of the word لمولانا "domino nostro" being in the possessive form and dative case, implying a dedication, Adler has properly inferred that the piece was struck rather by some vassal or prefect, than under the immediate authority of the prince himself. The date of coinage does not appear, and we can only say that it could not have been later than the year 580.

In the word which the sense requires to be الملك *al-malek*, in the second line of the area, there is either a mistake or a peculiar orthography, as it seems to be, on some specimens, المالك *al-mâlek*, and on others, االملك *al-almek*. The employment of the Persian term شاه *shâh* "rex" occurs here for the first time, and seemingly in order to avoid tautology, as ملك *malek* the customary title of these petty kings had been used immediately before. An engraving of this coin is given by Niebuhr, and more perfectly by Adler, Coll, nov. n°. LXVI.

(1) Reiske's opinion of the execution is thus expressed: "Schrift und Bild ist von einem feinen Geschmak und zierlichen Zügen." Repertorium XVIII^er. Theil, 44 Blad.

CXII.

حسام الدين يولق ارسلان بن ايل‌غازي *HUSÂM-ED-DÎN YÛLUK ARSLÂN BEN IL-GHÂZI.*

COPPER, An. 581.

I. AREA. Effigies hominis vultu obverso, capillis sparsis seu erectis, chlamyde induti.

MARGIN. حسام الدين يولق بن ايل‌غازي

Husâm-ed-dîn Yûluk s. *Bûluk ben Il-Ghâzi.*

II. AREA. الملك الناصر صلاح الدنيا و الدين
يوسف بن ايوب

Rex *Al-Náser Saláh-ed-duniya wa ed-dîn Yûsuf ben Ayûb.*

SIDES. ضرب سنه احدي (و) ثمانين و خمس مايه

Cuditur anno 581 (1185).

This figure, imitated probably from a medal of the Lower empire, is executed in a bold style, although without good taste. The relief also is higher than in most other coins, and the specimen itself is in the best state of preservation, having, apparently, been buried in dry earth when it was first issued from the mint. The date alone is attended with any degree of obscurity, occasioned by a hard sandy concretion about the characters, which are of a smaller size than the other parts of the inscription; but the word احد or احدي "one" is sufficiently plain, and as *Husâm* began to reign in 580, and *Sâlah-ed-dîn* died in 589, there does not remain a chance of much error.

Here for the first time we meet with the name of this distinguished sovereign and warrior, so well known in the histories of the Crusades by the appellation of Saladin, whose proper name, however, was *Yûsuf ben Ayûb* or Joseph the son of Job. Of him and of his family there will be occasion to speak more particularly, when the coins of the Ayubite (his own) dynasty are under examination. About this period he had extended his conquests to most of the provinces watered by the Euphrates and

and Tigris. In 579 he had made an attempt to possess himself of *Mardîn*, and in 581 we find him carrying on his operations against *Khelat* and *Mosul*, from *Miafârkîn*. It is not therefore surprising that he should be acknowledged as their liege lord by the princes of *Diarbekr*, or that his name should appear on their money. COPPER, An. 581.

An uncertainty prevails amongst the Arabian historians respecting the proper orthography, or rather the punctuation of the first syllable of the prince's name by whom this money was coined, some, including Abu'l-faraj, writing it يولق *Yûluk*, and others, with Abu'lfeda, بولق *Bûluk*.

CXIII.

حسام الدين يولق *HUSÂM-ED-DÎN YÛLUK.*

I. AREA. Effigies hominis, vultu obverso (detrita). COPPER, An. 584.

MARGIN. ..... ارتق ارسلان

II. AREA. ..... الناصر لدين الله

Al-Nâser ledîn-illah .....

SIDES. ضرب ..... سنه اربع و ثمنين .....

Cuditur in .... anno 584 (1188).

Of this coin, which in its deteriorated state is of little importance, scarcely any thing remains of the inscription excepting a part of the name of the Ortokite prince, the name, without the title, of the reigning khalif, and the unit and decimal of the date, which latter are perfectly legible. The human figure is not intended for the same as that on the last coin of this prince, nor does it resemble (as far as can be judged in its present condition) any other in the Collection. The khalifat of *Nâser-ledîn-illah* began in 575 and terminated in 622.

CXIV.

حسام الدين يولق ارسلان *HUSÂM-ED-DÎN YÛLUK ARSLÂN.*

COPPER, An. 585.

I. Effigies hominis vultu obverso, capillis sparsis, &c.

AREA. حسام الدين يولق ارسلان

Husâm-ed-dîn Yûluk Arslân.

II. AREA. الملك الناصر صلاح الدنيا و الدين
يوسف (بن) ايوب

Rex *Al-Náser Salâh-ed-duniya wa ed-dîn Yúsuf (ben) Ayúb.*

ضرب سنة خمس و..... وخمس مايه

Cuditur anno 5(8)5 (1189).

This is intended to be the counterpart (excepting the date) of the coin of 581, but the cutting of the dies has produced a considerable difference, and the countenances of the two figures have little in common. From being equally worn, it appears to have been long in circulation. In both, the patronymic ايوب *Ayúb*, which concludes the sentence, is placed at the top of the inscription. Of the date, the decimal is particularly obscure, but the circumstances remove all doubt.

CXV. CXVI.

حسام الدين يولق ارسلان *HUSÂM-ED-DÎN YÛLUK ARSLÂN.*

COPPER, An. 587.

I. AREA. Figura feminæ, ut apparet, sedentis, cum tribus figuris adstantibus.

II. AREA.

II. AREA. الامام الناصر الدين امير المومنين COPPER, An. 587.

Imám Al-Náser-ed-dín imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN. حسام الدين ملكٌ دياربكر يولق ارسلان بن ايل‌غازي بن ارتق سنه سبع و ثمنين وخما

Husám-ed-dín rex Diarbekr *Yúluk Arslán ben Il-Gházi ben Ortok*, anno 587 (1191).

Whether this group of four human figures was imitated by an oriental artist from a Greek original, or the design was his own invention, has not been ascertained. The execution, although contemptuously spoken of by medallists who have been used to contemplate the fine specimens of ancient art, is not devoid of merit.(1) The date is plainly intended for 587 (being that of the coin described by Barthélemy from the cabinet of the king of France), but instead of the words خمس‌مايه "five hundred," there appear only the characters خما; the letter ا, as already noticed, being made to stand for an indefinite contraction or elision.

Of this coin (considered with a reference to its legend) there are two specimens, on both of which the name of the khalif is, incorrectly, written ناصر الدين *Náser ed-dín*, instead of لدين‌الله *ledín-illah*, his true appellation. In Castiglioni's plate of this and the preceding coin, the characters are conformable to my specimens, but not so his readings, in p. 175 and 176.

(1) "De l'autre côté sont quatre figures, d'un si mauvais goût de dessein, qu'on a de la peine à décider si quelques-unes d'entre elles sont des hommes ou des femmes, de jeunes enfans ou des personnes avancées en age. Celle du milieu est assise .... trois autres figures rangées autour d'elle, semblent exprimer, par des attitudes differentes une douleur qui leur est commune." Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. t. XXVI. p. 567.

"Ab altera parte quatuor figuræ hominum animadvertuntur, quarum una sedet, duæ manus supra caput ejus extendunt, quarta abire videtur. Omnino ad res gestas Turcomanorum spectat." Mus. Cuf. Borg. p. 65.

CXVII.—CXIX.

حسام الدين يولق ارسلان *HUSÂM-ED-DÎN YÛLUK ARSLÂN.*

COPPER, An. 594?

I. AREA. Figures as in the preceding.

II. AREA. الملك العادل الامام الناصر الدين امير المومنين حسام الدين

Rex justus: *Imâm Al-Náser-ed-dín* imperator Fidelium: *Husâm-ed-dín.*

SIDES. ابوبكر بن ايوب

Abu-bekr ben Ayúb.

MARGIN ملك ديار بكر يولق ارسلان بن ايل غازي بن ارتق سنه .....

Rex Diarbekr *Yúluk Arslán ben Il-Gházi ben Ortok,* anno .....

This coin of the same prince, and exhibiting the same group of figures, differs materially from the former in the disposition of the parts, if not in the substance of its legend. The names and titles of the reigning Turkomân and of the khalif are intermixed in such a manner as to justify the supposition of a design to equalise thereby the rank of the independent feudatory with that of the nominal sovereign. Those of the former are contained in the first and last lines of the Area, together with the marginal inscription, which is a continuation of them; whilst those of the khalif (incorrectly expressed) occupy the centre. It is remarkable that in no one of three specimens, (making altogether five that exhibit the group) is the first letter of the name of حسام *Husâm* to be distinguished. The date also is too imperfect to be read. From the general analogy we might conclude it to have been coined at the same period with the former, but the introduction of the name of *Abu-bekr ben Ayúb,* the brother of *Sálah-ed-dín,* gives reason to infer that it must have been subsequent to the death of the latter in 589, when his extensive dominions were portioned out amongst the numerous members of his family.

family.(1) On one of the specimens, otherwise much defaced, I perceive indeed the words ستماية 600, with a preceding unit, but not legible. In 594 we find this *Abu-bekr* (who had the title of *Seif-ed-dín*) laying siege to *Mardín*, the capital of *Husám*, although at that time without success.(2) Adler, in describing a coin precisely similar to this (but not similar, as he supposes, to that described by Barthélemy) omits in his reading the lateral words which contain the name of the Ayubite prince, notwithstanding their appearance, with tolerable correctness, in his own engraving. Mus. Cuf. Borg. n°. xxxvi. p. 64. COPPER, An. 594?

CXX.—CXXIII.

حسام الدين يولق ارسلان *HUSÂM-ED-DÎN YÛLUḲ ARSLÂN.*

I. AREA. Figura principis lorica induti, pedibus decussatis sedentis, manu una gladium, altera caput detruncatum crinibus tenentis. COPPER, An. 596.

SIDE OF AREA. نور الدين اتابگ
Núr-ed-dín Atábeg.

II. AREA. الناصر لدين الله امير المومنين
Al-Náser ledín-illah imperator Fidelium.

INNER CIRCLE. الملك الافضل علي و الملك الظاهر
غازي بن الملك النا (ص)
Malek Al-Afdhal Ali et *Malek ed-Dháher Gházi*, filii *Malek Al-Náser.*

MARGIN.

(1) " C'est après tant de victoires que mourut ce grand conquérant à Damas (le 27 de Sepher de l'an 589) âgé de 57 ans. Après sa mort, son fils Noureddin aly lui succéda dans le royaume de Damas; Othman en Egypte; Gaïatheddin ghazi à Alep; Seïfeddin aboubekr fils d'Ayoub à Krak, &c." Hist. gén. des Huns, t. III. p. 237. " Malek el adel Seïfeddin Aboubekr, frere de Saladin, en même tems roi d'Egypte, mort en 615." t. I. p. 422.

(2) " Ces petits princes étoient alors exposés aux entreprises des princes de la famille de Saladin. Adel Aboubekr assiégea Maredin (dans le mois Ramadhan de l'an 594), quelques traîtres lui livrerent ses fauxbourgs; mais après un an de siége il fut obligé de décamper." t. III. p. 145.

COPPER, An. 596.

MARGIN. حسام الدين يولق ارسلان ملك ديار بكر بن ايل غازي بن ارتق ضرب سنه ست و تسعين و خما

Husâm-ed-dîn Yûluk Arslân rex Diarbekr *ben Il-Ghâzi ben Ortok.* Cuditur anno 596 (1199).

Among the variety of names presenting themselves on this remarkable coin, it may be thought difficult to distinguish the prince to whom it properly belongs; whether to the two sons of the great *Sâlah-ed-dîn*, to *Nûr-ed-dîn Atâbeg*, of Mosul, or to *Husâm-ed-dîn Yûluk Arslân;* the khalif *Nâser-ledîn-illah* being out of the question. Adler expresses himself confident of its having been struck by the first of these parties, and supposes the figure on the obverse, of a warrior holding in one hand a sword and in the other a head just severed from its trunk, to allude to a conspiracy of these two Ayubite princes against their uncle, *Malek al-Adel Seif-ed-dîn Abu-bekr.*(1) To this opinion and explanation, however, there are strong objections. We have not hitherto seen any of these coins on which a connexion could be traced between the figures and the legends, and even if it should be proved to exist in this case, still the representation cannot be applicable to the transaction stated, because, whatever the intentions of the nephews might have been respecting the decapitation of their uncle, he did not afford them an opportunity of carrying it into effect. To me it seems in the highest degree probable that it has reference to what passed in the tent of *Sâlah-ed-dîn*, after a signal victory obtained by him over the Franks in the year 583 (1187), when Gui de Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, and Arnaud de Châtillon, prince of Caraka (*Krak*), were amongst the prisoners, and the head of the latter was cut off by the sultan's own hand.(2)

But

(1) Collect. Nov. nº. LXXIX. p. 111.

(2) The account of this event, as related by Abu'lfeda in the Annales Moslemici, is circumstantial and interesting. The following extracts from Adler's valuable edition, t. IV. will serve to put the reader in possession of the material facts: "Eodem anno (582) capiebat Princeps, Caracæ dominus, magnam cafilam (seu catervam itineratorum ad sacra Meccana proficiscentium) eosque in vincula dabat. Quos Saladinus quidem juxta inducias, cum Francis initas, repetebat, Francus autem nollebat reddere. Saladinum irritabat ea res adeo, ut juraret, velle manu sua principem istum obtruncare, si Deus aliquando se compotem ejus fecerit." p. 73. "Finito conflictu præsidebat sultan in prætorio, regemque Francorum arcessitum a latere suo jubebat desidere, maximeque æstuanti (media quippe tum æstas erat) et sitibundo

But when we compare this with the other coins of the Ortokite dynasty, which it entirely resembles, and observe that the name of *Husâm-ed-dîn* is in immediate connexion with the word ضرب "cuditur," we shall not hesitate to consider it as the coin of the *Turkomân* prince, who, surrounded in his castles of Diarbekr by powerful neighbours, was always in a state of political dependence. COPPER, An. 596.

Upon the death of *Sâlah-ed-dîn* in 589, *Malek al-Fadhal*, his eldest son, succeeded him on the throne of Damascus, and *Malek ed-Dhâher*, his third son, on that of *Haleb* or Aleppo; the kingdom of Egypt falling to the share of *Malek al-Aziz*, his second; but upon the death of the latter, within a short period, that country also was annexed to the dominion of *Al-Fadhal*, his eldest brother. *Nûr-ed-dîn Arslân shâh Atâbeg*, whose name also is mentioned on the coin, reigned in Mosul or *Mausul* (on the bank of the Tigris, opposite to that on which stood the ancient Nineveh) from the year 589 to 607. The exact period of the death of *Husâm ed-dîn*, a very young prince, under tutelage, is not recorded. The latest mention of his name in the Chronicon Syriacum is about this year 596, where it is said, speaking of the siege of *Mardîn* by *Malek al-Adel*, which commenced in 594: "Fere ad incitas redactus erat Netamaldinus gubernator pueri Husamaldini." p. 442. As there is a coin of his successor with the date of 599, his death must therefore have taken place about 597 or 598.

Of four specimens of this coin, three are perfectly alike with regard to the figure, and generally so, as to the inscription. On a fourth we find the circumstances of the figure reversed, the sword being held in the left hand of the warrior and the lifeless head in the right; the words نورالدين اتابك *Nûr-ed-dîn Atâbeg* are omitted; and in Area II. the word الامام *Al-Imâm* precedes the name of the khalif. Some other variations are also perceptible, which cannot, from the defacement of the characters,

sitibundo aquam nivatam porrigebat. Is ut biberat, etiam vicino suo, Principi, domino Carakæ, potum exhibebat. Verum sultan protestatus: 'Mea quidem, aiebat, cum venia non bibet hic maledictus, neque, si fecerit, eo vitæ securus et mihi sacer fiet. Postea converso ad Principem sermone objurgabat eum minisque terrebat, propterea quod ausus fuisset itineratores religiosos contra datam fidem obruere, sanctissimaque loca Meccam et Medinam, attentare.' Quibus dictis, ipse surgens manu sua Principi cervicem obtruncabat." P. 77.

COPPER, An. 596. ters, be precisely ascertained; but the word الله, belonging to لدين, has a place at the top of the Area. The date of this fourth specimen is lost by the inequality of striking. On some of the others it is legible, and especially on one that from the inferiority of the figure was not selected for the Plate.

An engraving of it is given by Niebuhr, Descript. de l'Arabie, Tab. x. n°. 7; by Adler, Collect. nov. Tab. v. n°. LXXIX. p. 110; and lastly by Castiglioni. Tab. III. n°. x.

CXXIV.—CXXVII.

ملك المنصور ناصر الدين ارتق ارسلان *MALEK AL-MANSÛR NÂSER-ED-DÎN ORTOK ARSLÂN,*

Fifth prince.

COPPER, An. 599.

I. AREA. Figura Centauri arcum retrorsùm intendentis ad fauces hiantes draconis.

MARGIN. بماردين سنه تسع و تسعين و خمس (مايه)

In *Mardîn* anno 599 (1202).

II. AREA and SIDES. الناصر لدين الله امير المومنين الملك العادل ابو بكر
ملك ديار بكر بن ايوب ناصر الدين ارتق ارسلان

Al-Náser ledín-illah imperator Fidelium. *Al-Malek al-Adel Abubekr* rex Diarbekr, *ben Ayúb. Náser-ed-dín Ortok Arslân.*

Much uncertainty has prevailed also with respect to the prince under whose authority this coin was struck or the dynasty to which it should be referred. Ostensibly it appears to belong to *Malek al-Adel Seif-ed-dîn Ab-ubekr ben Ayúb,* the brother of *Sálah-ed-dîn,* who about this period repeatedly laid siege to the city or fortress of *Mardîn.* By Adler, as well as by Reiske and Eichhorn, it is accordingly considered as an Ayubite coin. It proceeded, however, from the mint of the Ortokite capital,

capital, during the reign of *Nâser-ed-dîn Ortok Arslân*, whose name has a place (obscure indeed) in the inscription, and I do not hesitate to assign it to him, although the name of his oppressor, but not his actual conqueror, occupies a more conspicuous situation: an admission of inferiority rendered unavoidable by the circumstances to which he was reduced, and which are fully explained in Abu'lfeda's Annals.(1) Still the coinage was his right, and his claim to it was no more defeated by the insertion of the name of *Malek al-Adel* than by that of the khalif, or than the claim of his predecessor was, by inserting the names of the two sons of *Sâlah-ed-dîn*. It is singular indeed that the writers above-mentioned, who all admit the reading of *Nâser-ed-dîn* in the margin, make no attempt to account for its introduction, but, on the contrary, merge it in the titles of the Ayubite king, to whom it certainly did not belong. COPPER, An. 599.

The figure of a Centaur shooting an arrow, backwards, into the expanded jaws of a dragon's or other monster's head (no part of the body appearing) must have been imitated from some Greek medal, without any reference to Arabian or Turkomân story, and might probably, in the original, have conveyed an astrological allusion to the constellation of Sagittarius and the Moon's node. An engraving of this figure will be found in the Mus. Cuf. Borg. Tab. XII. n. XCVIII. and the description at p. 157; which shew that the Borgian specimen accords generally with the most perfect of mine, although some peculiarities have been passed unnoticed in the former. These are, that the letters نا, at the end of the last line in the area, must be read in conjunction with صر at the sinister side of the margin, to form the name of ناصرالدين *Nâser-ed-dîn*, and the letters ار, after the word ارتق *Ortok* on the dexter side, in conjunction with سلان at bottom, to form that of ارسلان *Arslân*, which Adler

s

has

(1) "Hoc anno (599) imperabat Sultan Malec el-Adel filio suo, Malec el-Aschrafo, ut Maredinam obsidione in angustias redigeret, atque si pote, expugnaret. Neque deerat filius quantum in se patris mandato. Intercedente tamen Malec ed-Dahero, Halebense, pax coalescebat et obsidio solvebatur. Pacis conditiones erant hæ, quibus Maredinensis etiam subscribebat: ut Adelo centum et quinquaginta millia numorum aureorum solveret, et ejus nomen per templa suæ ditionis celebrari, *numisque suis inscribi curaret*, et quotiescunque flagitatus ad servitium adesset." T. IV, p. 201.

COPPER, An. 599.

has left blank in his description (although not in the engraving); whilst Reiske and Eichhorn read سلار *Sallar*, a name entirely unknown.(2) In addition to the confusion occasioned by this mistake, instead of reading the words بن ايوب *ben Ayúb* (at the top) in immediate conjunction with the name of *Abu-bekr*, whose patronymic it is, they annex it to that of *Nâser-ed-dîn*, to which it has no relation. The order of the words is commonly but little regarded by oriental die-sinkers. In this instance the apparent complicateness may be simplified by observing, that of the four marginal divisions of characters, those at the top belong to the legend in the area, of which the other three are a continuation, and are to be read consecutively from right to left.

Among four specimens of the coin in this Collection, three exhibit the archer as directing his weapon towards the left (with respect to the beholder), and one of them towards the right. This last, which is in the more perfect condition as to the legend, although not the one chosen for the engraving, must also be deemed the most genuine and correct, because in it the bow is properly held with the left, and drawn with the right hand of the figure. In this, however, as in a few other instances, the making some sacrifice to the more complete state of preservation in which the device may appear, has been unavoidable, and the preference may be excused on this ground: that the defects or inaccuracies of the legend may be explained in words, which those of the figures cannot. It

(2) "Aber wer is denn der Sallar? und gehört der Nahme Naseroddin der Sohn Ejub dazu, oder sind das zwey verschiedne Leute; oder ist endlich der ol Malec ol Adel Abu Becr, Malek Diar Becr, Sallar Naseroddin Ben Ejub der Nahme und Titel von einem einzigen, nehmlich dem al Malec ol Adel? Das alles kann ich nicht sagen, sondern muss es der Zeit überlassen es zu entdecken und zu entscheiden." ("But who, says Reiske, is this *Sallar?* Does the name of Naseroddin the son of Eyub belong to him, or are they distinct persons? or, lastly, is Malec ol-Adel Abu Becr, Malek Diar Becr, Sallar Naseroddin Ben Eyub, the name and title of a single individual, that is, of Malec ol-Adel? To all this I can give no answer, but must leave to time the discovery and solution.") Repertorium, Th. XI. p. 14. There was not wanting any new discovery, but only a due consideration of circumstances already known, to perceive that *Malek al-Adel Abu-bekr ben Ayúb* was one person, and *Nâser-ed-dîn Ortok Arslân* another. On some specimens described by Reiske and Eichhorn they profess to find the reading of بن زنكي *ben Zengi*, and on others بن ارتق *ben Ortok*. The former I suspect to be a mistake of the characters, and particularly as the combination of ايوب بن زنكي *Ayûb ben Zengi* marks its inconsistency. Th. XVIII. p. 55, 56.

It becomes necessary therefore to observe, that in the engraved specimen the words بن ايوب *ben Ayúb* are obliterated, whilst upon others it is quite legible, as is also the word امير imperator, being found immediately above the الله of the khalif's name, and inclosed between the upright strokes of its characters. This seems not to have been distinguishable in the coin described by Castiglioni (p. 180) or to have escaped his accuracy. COPPER, An. 599.

CXXVIII. CXXIX.

ناصر الدين ارتق ارسلان *NÂSER-ED-DÎN ORTOK ARSLÂN?*

I. AREA. Effigies obversa hominis chlamyde induti. COPPER, An. 600.

SIDES. Rex præstantissimus. الملك الامجد

MARGIN. ضرب هذاالدرهم بمافرقين سنه ستماية

Cuditur hæc drachma in *Miafarkín*, anno 600.

II. AREA. Third symbol. لااله الا الله محمد رسول الله

الامام الناصر لدين الله امير المومنين

Imám Al-Náser ledín-illah imperator Fidelium.

SIDES. الملك العادل سيف الدين ابوبكر بن ايوب

Malek al-Adel Seif-ed-dín Abu-bekr ben Ayúb.

The name of the Ortokite prince not appearing upon this coin, but only that of his powerful enemy, the Ayubite, *Malek al-Adel*, it may seem paradoxical to class it with the series of those belonging to the former. Yet his right to it might in the first instance be presumed from the general analogy of the coinage, on which we have already seen the name of *Náser-ed-dín Ortok Arslán* obscurely placed, whilst that of his oppressor occupied the most conspicuous part, as well as from the name of the city where it was struck, which, with the exception of a particular

COPPER, An. 600. period, was long a portion of the Ortokite territory. At this time, however, *Miafarkîn* was actually in the possession of *Al-Adel*, who appears to have made no change in the constitution of its mint, but to have sanctioned the usual style of its money, which was ornamented with devices borrowed from that of the Greek empire; a practice not adopted in his Syrian or Egyptian coinage. The cloak fastened over the breast of the figure with a fibula must have been imitated from the costume of some western people.

Amongst the peculiarities of the inscription is the introduction of the epithet الامجد most excellent. The orthography of the name of the place is incorrect, being here مافرقين instead of ميافرقين; and in that of the word درهم *dirhem*, which this copper piece is improperly denominated, the hard ـه is substituted for the soft ـه. The date, being that of the completion of the sixth Mahometan century, is not liable to any doubt.

By Castiglioni, this and some of the following coins, on which we do not distinguish the name of the Ortokite prince, are separately classed under the head of "Ayubites of *Miafarkîn*," and with justifiable correctness. The words which I distinctly read الملك الامجد on two specimens, are unnoticed by him in his description of n°. CLXXVIII. which otherwise corresponds with this coin. In his engraving of it, Tav. XI. n°. 5, the characters on each side of the head, where these words appear in mine, are illegible.

CXXX.

الملك الاوحد نجم الدين *AL-MALEK AL-AUHAD NEJM-ED-DÎN.*

COPPER, An. 600-607.

I. AREA. Effigies obversa hominis chlamyde induti.

MARGIN. الملك الاوحد نجم الدنيا و ....

Al-Malek Al-Auhad Nejm-ed-duniya wa ....

SIDES. سنه .... وستمايه

Anno 6..

II. AREA.

II. Area. Third symbol. Copper, An. 600-607.

Internal angles. الامام . الناصر . لدين الله امير المو . . .

Imâm Al-Nâser-ledîn-illah imperator Fidel.

External angles. . . . . ا الدين سيف العادل الملك

Al-Malek Al-Adel Seif-ed-dîn (Abubekr ben Ayûb).

The figure on this coin is the same as on the foregoing, but the name expressed in the Margin round the head, appears to be that of *Malek Al-Auhad Nejm ed-dîn*, to whom his father, *Malek Al-Adel*, committed the government of *Miafarkîn* in the year 597. Abu'lf. Ann. t. IV. p. 185. It cannot escape observation that the word here read اوحد *Auhad* has, especially in the Cufic characters, a decided resemblance to that which, on the preceding coin, I read امجد; the difference being only in the shape of the second letter, which in the former is merely a small circle, without any appendage, whereas it has here an ascending tail, that may give it a claim to be considered as a و. From analogy we must infer that it was intended for the same name on the preceding coin, however incorrectly or equivocally written.

Of the words denoting the date the century only can be read with confidence. Reiske and Eichhorn describe a similar coin of the year 607; nor can the date be later, as in that year the death of *Al-Auhad* took place, and he was succeeded by his brother *Al-Ashraf*. De Guignes (t. I. p. 425) states it to have been in 609.

It will be perceived that the compartments formed by the intersecting triangles not being of a size sufficient to contain the words at length, the final letter or syllable of each is in most instances retrenched.

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CXXXI.

CXXXI. CXXXII.

ناصر الدين ارتق ارسلان *NÂSER-ED-DÎN ORTOK ARSLÂN.*

COPPER, An. 606.

I. AREA. Figura hominis, cum manibus elatis quasi arcum intendentis, animali quodam insidentis.

MARGIN. الملك العلم العادل ناصر الدين ارتق ارسلان ملك دياربكر

Rex sapiens, justus, *Náser-ed-dín Ortok Arslán* rex Diarbekr.

II. AREA. الامام الناصر لدين الله امير المومنين

Imám Al-Náser-ledín-illah imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN and SIDES. الملك العادل سيف الدين ابوبكر بن ايوب ضرب بماردين سنه ست وست مايه

Malek al-Adel Seif-ed-dín Abu-bekr ben Ayúb. Cuditur in *Mardín*, anno 606 (1209).

It would seem that the Ortokite princes, though generally imitating, on their money, the figures presented by such foreign medals as happened to be in their possession, occasionally ventured upon original designs, of which the rude portraiture on this coin may be considered as a specimen.

The names, of the prince of *Mardín*, of the Ayubite,(1) and of the khalif (the same as on the preceding), together with the name of the city, are distinctly legible. In expressing the date it will be observed that the engraver of the die has had recourse to some awkward management. The marginal inscription is made to end with the word سنه "anno," and the lateral, to commence with what probably should be ست the numeral 6, but which (by a mistake arising from the near resemblance of the two words) is in fact a repetition of سنه. That it was meant for the former is proved by the copulative و "et," which follows and connects it with the century. Reiske, however, reads the date 600, and supposes, gratuitously, the copulative to be superfluous. Vid.

(1) See Note (1. p. 129) to coin of the year 599, where it will appear that the placing the name of *Malek al-Adel* upon the coinage was one of the conditions of his peace with this Ortokite prince of *Mardín*.

Vid. Repertor. XVIII^r. Theil. A similar coin, but supposed to be of the year 605, is described by Adler, Collect. nova, n^o^ 71, p. 101. COPPER, An. 606.

There are in the Collection two specimens of this coin, besides three more exhibiting nearly the same uncouth figure, but differing in the legend.

CXXXIII.—CXXXV.

مظفر الدين كوكبري *MODHAFFER-ED-DÎN KUKBERI.*

I. AREA. Figura hominis elatis manibus, quasi arcum tendentis, animali quodam tigridi simili, nisi potius monstro, insidentis: pessime delineata. COPPER, An. 607.

MARGIN. ضرب (بماردين) سنه سبع وستمايه
Cuditur (in *Mardîn*) anno 607 (1210).

II. AREA. الناصر لدين الله امير المومنين ملك الامرا
مظفر الدنيا و الدين (كملبري)
Al-Nâser ledîn-illah imperator Fidelium. Rex principum *Modhaffer ed-duniya wa ed-dîn* . . . . .

SIDES. Third symbol.

This coin, of which there are three specimens, is in many circumstances similar to the one last described, but the animal serving as a *monture* to the scarcely human rider, in the posture of an archer, instead of being a horse, as I had presumed, is evidently meant for a tiger or some other beast of the feline tribe, and the whole has a still more grotesque appearance.

Although the place of coinage seems likewise to be *Mardîn*, the capital of this branch of the dynasty, the name of the Ortokite prince, humbled as he was at this period by the Ayubites, is not to be distinguished in the legend. The date of the engraved specimen appears to be

COPPER, An. 607. be 607, and that of another, which has some words more distinct than the former, 597.

For the correction of my error in attributing this coin to the house of *Ortok*, I am indebted to the descriptions given by Castiglioni of three in the Milan Collection, nearly similar to it, although in a much less perfect state of preservation than my specimens. The obscure word following the name of *Modhaffer ed-dîn*, which appeared to me to resemble كمليري should, it seems, be read كوكبري *Kûkberi* (although the third letter has, on all of mine, the form of ا and not of ك) being the surname of a petty prince of *Arbil* in Kurdistan, who reigned there from 586, when he succeeded his brother *Zein ed-dîn Yûsuf*, to his death in 630.(1) Their father who was named *Zein ed-dîn Ali Kujuk* had been appointed to the government of that city by *Maudûd* sultan of *Mosul*, in 583, but by the assistance of *Sâlah-ed-dîn* the sons were enabled to maintain a sort of independence. Instead also of the doubtful word بماردين in *Mardîn*, as the place of coinage, we should read باربل in *Arbil*, the Arbela of Alexander's battle.

CXXXVI.—CXLI.

ناصر الدين ارتق ارسلان *NÂSER-ED-DÎN ORTOK ARSLÂN.*

COPPER, An. 610.

I. AREA. Caput spissis crinibus, si non foliis cinctum, facie prope obversa.

MARGIN. ناصر الدنيا و الدين ارتق ارسلان ملك ديار بكر

Nâser ed-duniya wa ed-dîn Ortok Arslân, rex Diarbekr.

II. AREA.

(1) " Hoc anno, 630, obiit Motapheraldin Cucburi filius Zinaldini Eli Cuschach dominus Arbelæ." Chron. Syriac. p. 510.

II. AREA. امر الفلس احمد الناصر لدين الله
امير المومنين الملك العادل ابو . . .

COPPER, An. 610

Al-Nâser-ledîn-illah, imperator Fidelium. *Malek al-Adel Abu (bekr).*

SIDES. . . . . عشر و ست مايه

(Anno) 610 (1213).

The date of 610 on this coin is consistent with the names of the khalif and of the Ayubite prince which it exhibits, as well as with the circumstances of a peace concluded with the latter in the year 599 (already noticed), when it was stipulated that the name of *Malek al-Adel,* who lived until 615, should have place on the Ortokite coinage at *Mardîn.*

The legends, upon six specimens in the Collection and all in a tolerable state of preservation, are satisfactorily made out, with the exception of what appears as the upper line of Area II., but which may be thought rather to belong to the lateral inscription. Of three words that compose it, the second is unquestionably الفلس *al-fels* "obolus," although other copper coins in the same series have, improperly, been called *dirhem,* as if intended to be current for the value of the silver coin so denominated. The first has, on most of the specimens, the appearance of امر *amr* "edict, command," and the third, of احمد *Ahmed,* a proper name. Any meaning to be formed from the combination of these words can be only conjectural; but perhaps they may allude to an alteration of the former arbitrary value, upon the occasion of issuing this money. It should be remarked that Adler, in describing a similar coin in the Borgian collection (n. XXXVIII.), takes no notice of this unusual sentence, nor of any part of the lateral inscription.

At the top of the area is a symbol or mint-mark that has already appeared upon some of the earlier coins of this dynasty.

CXLII.

الاشرف مظفر الدين شاه ارمن *AL-ASHRAF MODHAFFER ED-DÎN SHÂH ARMENI.*

COPPER, An. 612.

I. AREA. Effigies obversa hominis chlamyde induti positione quasi sedentis.

MARGIN. الملك الاشرف مظفر الدين شاه ارمن ....

Al-Malek Al-Ashraf Modhaffer-ed-dîn shâh Armeni (Abu'lfath Músa).

SIDES. سنه ثنا عشر و ستمايه

Anno 612 (1215).

II. AREA. الامام الناصر لدين الله امير المومنين

Imâm Al-Naser ledîn-illah imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN. الملك العادل (سيف الدين ....)

Al-Malek Al-Adel (*Seif-ed-dîn*, &c.).

When *Malek Al-Adel* obtained possession of the city of *Miafarkîn* from the Ortokites, he gave it, as an *apanage*, to his son *Malek Al-Auhad*, upon whose death, in 607, according to Abu'lfeda, it devolved on his brother, *Malek Al-Ashraf*.(1) Under the latter this money was coined in the year 612, representing nearly the same figure as one that had been adopted a few years before by the expelled dynasty, but with a smaller covering to the head, and apparently intended to be in a sitting posture. In the general features of the coins and the form of the shield within which the legend of II. is inscribed, there is a striking resemblance between this and n° LXX. of the Collect. nov. of Adler. He, however, makes

(1) "Hoc ipso (anno 607) obiit Malec el-Auhad Eiub, filius Malec el-Adeli, dominus Challatæ, cujus imperium frater ejus Malec el-Aschraf occupabat, et titulum Schah Armeni assumebat." T. IV. p. 245.

makes the date to be 599; the accuracy of which, as well as of some other part of his reading, is very questionable. I had myself supposed that it might have contained the obliterated name of an Atabeg or Ortokite prince, but am satisfied by Castiglioni's observations, that the Ayubites, upon becoming masters of *Miafarkín*, placed upon its coinage no other titles than those belonging to their own family. COPPER, An. 612.

That *Al-Ashraf* assumed the title of *Shâh Armeni* or king of Armenia, is well known. His pretensions to it were grounded on his possession of the city of *Khalât*, in that country, which his predecessor had taken, in the year 604, from the descendants of *Shâh Armeni Sokman.*(2) In the date the units are expressed in a peculiar manner by the contracted word ثنا bini, instead of اثنين duo. By Castiglioni, who describes the same coin, this numeral is written ثني; but in his engraving it terminates with ا, as on mine.

CXLIII.

ملك الاشرف *MALEK AL-ASHRAF.*

I. AREA. Effigies principis pedibus decussatim sedentis, manu globum prope pectorem tenentis, capite nimbo circumdato. COPPER, An. 617.

SIDES. سنه سبع عشرو ست مايه
anno 617 (1220).

MARGIN. ملك الاشرف شاه ار(من)
Malek al-Ashraf shâh Armeni.

II. AREA. الامام الناصر لدين الله امير المومنين
الملك الكامل محمد

Imâm Al-Nâser-ledín-illah imperator Fidelium. *Al-Malek Al-Kâmel Muhammed.*

SIDES. Third symbol imperfect.

 In

(2) Vid. Chron. Syr. p. 462. Hist. Dynast. p. 283. Ann. Musl. IV. 221.

COPPER, An. 617. In the city of *Miafârkîn* this money also, although the name does not appear, must have been coined by *Al-Ashraf*, who, in the same year, 617, resigned the possession of it, as well as of *Khalât*, to his younger brother شهاب الدين *Shihâb ed-dîn*. In 642 the latter was succeeded by his son, whom Abu'lfeda names *Malek Al-Kâmel Nâser-ed-dîn Muhammed*, and Abu'lfaraj, *Al-Ashraf*; the last of his race. Having bravely defended his capital during a siege of two years by the Moghuls, he was put to death upon its being taken by assault, in the year 658. *Malek Al-Adel*, the father of *Malek Al-Ashraf*, having died in 615, we here find the name of *Malek Al-Kâmel*, his eldest son and successor on the throne of Egypt, who was thus become the paramount lord. The date is quite distinct, but it is proper to remark that upon one of two specimens the word immediately preceding سبع 7 is the usual term of سنه anno, whilst on the other it seems to terminate with the letters حار *har* or خار *khar*.

A figure seated in the same oriental posture, and in most respects similar to what appears on this coin, but differing in the style of head-dress, will be noticed hereafter amongst those of the *Atâbegs*. It is of a later date and bears the name of another khalif, although of the same Ayubite sovereign.

CXLIV.

ملك المنصور ناصر الدين ارتق ارسلان *MALEK AL-MANSÛR NÂSER ED-DÎN ORTOK ARSLÂN,*

Sixth prince.

COPPER, An. 632 ?

I. AREA. Caput facie obversa, Tartarica, an Æthiopica ?

MARGIN. Defaced.

II. AREA. الامام المستنصر بالله امير المومنين
الملك المنصور

Imâm Al-Mostanser-billah imperator Fidelium. Rex *Al-Mansûr*.

SIDES. في سنه ... اثنين (وثلثين ؟) و
ستمايه

Anno 6 (32) ?

In

In the legend of this coin we find the Ortokite prince, commonly known by his title of *Nâser-ed-dîn*, designated by his proper name of *Al-Mansûr* only; the remainder being obliterated. The assumed date of 632 is liable to some uncertainty, and especially from the defect of the word which should follow في سنه "anno" and occupy the uppermost of of the lateral spaces. The means of approximation, however, are not wanting, as the khalif *Mostanser*, whose name appears on the coinage in place of that of the khalif *Nâser-ledîn-illah*, began to reign in 623, and *Al-Mansur* himself died in 637. COPPER, An. 632?

The head is remarkable, and certainly exhibits no trace of a Greek or Roman origin.

CXLV. CXLVI.

المنصور ناصر الدين ارتق ارسلان *AL-MANSÛR NÂSER ED-DÎN ORTOK ARSLÂN.*

I. AREA. Figura hominis, lorica induti, animali insidentis, cum manibus elatis, quasi arcum intendentis. COPPER, An. 623-629.

MARGIN. الملك الـ (منصور) . . . ملك ديار

Rex Al . . . rex Diar . . .

SIDES. . . . عشرين 20 ? . .

II. AREA. المستنصر بالله امير المومنين

Al-Mostanser-billah imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN. Rex . . . . . الملك

SIDES. ضرب سنه . . . . و ستمايه ؟

Cuditur anno 6 . . ?

Although there are two specimens of this coin, little more than the name and title of the khalif can be read with confidence. The uncouth equestrian

COPPER, An. 623-629.

equestrian figure is the same (but on a larger scale) as on two coins of 606, and three of a subsequent year, before described, and so imperfect are the numeral words, that this might be supposed to belong to the same period, were it not for the name of *Al-Mostanser*, who succeeded to the khalifat in 623, and died in 640. The name of the Ortokite prince, which ought to appear in the margin of I. is defaced, and we find only the words denoting his being king of Diarbekr; but as *Al-Mansûr* continued to reign to about the year 637, the coin may be considered as belonging to him.(1) So also the margin of II. where the word *Al-Malek* alone remains, may be presumed, from the general analogy, to have contained the name of one of the Ayubite family, by whom a paramount authority was exercised.

In Eichhorn's Repertorium (XVIII^r. Theil, p. 68) he describes, from Reiske, a coin which although exhibiting a different figure, nearly resembles this in respect to the legend, and has the advantage of giving the name of the Ortokite at full length. The date is properly inferred, from the khalif's reign, to be subsequent to 623, and it is not a little remarkable that the numeral عشرين 20 stands there in the same detached situation as in this, quite unconnected with the word that has the familiar appearance of ضرب "cuditur," but which is rendered doubtful by the little resemblance of the characters immediately following, to the word سنة "anno." These last, however conspicuous at the top of the area, are unnoticed in Reiske's description.

(1) "Hoc anno (637), aut, ut alii perhibent, anno 636, obiit Malec el-Mansur Nâser-ed-dîn Ortoc Arslan." Abulfedæ Annales t. IV. p. 453. After mentioning the reigns of some of the later princes, he adds: "Exploratam tamen harum rerum scientiam non habeo."

ORTOKITE PRINCES REIGNING IN *AMID* AND *KHEIFA*,

OF THE RACE OF

		A.H.	A.D.
1. *Sokmán ben Ortok*	سقمان بن ارتق	490	1097
2. *Ibrahím ben Sokmán*	ابراهيم بن سقمان	498	1104
3. *Rukn-ed-dín Daoud*	ركن الدين داود	522?	1128
4. *Fakhr-ed-dín Karâ Arslán ben Daoud*	فخر الدين قرا ارسلان بن داود	544?	
5. *Núr-ed-dín Muhammed* (or *Mahmúd*) *ben Karâ Arslán*	نور الدين محمد بن قرا ارسلان	562	1166
6. *Kotb-ed-dín Sokmán ben Muhammed*	قطب الدين سقمان بن محمد	581	1185
7. *Malek as-Sálah Náser-ed-dín Mahmúd ben Muhammed*	ملك الصالح ناصر الدين محمود بن محمد	597	1200
8. *Malek al-Masàúd ben Malek as-Sálah Mahmúd*	ملك المسعود بن ملك الصالح محمود	618	1221

According to Abu'lfeda:

5. *Kotb-ed-dín Mahmúd ben Fakhr-ed-dín Karâ Arslán*	قطب الدين محمود بن فخر الدين قرا ارسلان	562	1166
6. *Núr-ed-dín Muhammed ben Karâ Arslán*	نور الدين محمد بن قرا ارسلان	578	1182
7. *Kotb-ed-dín Sokmán ben Núr-ed-dín Muhammed*	قطب الدين سقمان بن نور الدين محمد	581	1185
8. *Malek as-Sálah*	ملك الصالح	597	1200
9. *Malek al-Masàúd*	ملك المسعود	618	1221

In the year 629–1231 *Malek al-Kâmel*, son of *Malek al-Adel* and nephew of *Sálah-ed-dín*, took possession of the city of *Amid*, and carried *Masàúd* with him into Egypt.

CXLVII.

فخر الدين قرا ارسلان بن داود *FAKHR ED-DÎN KARÂ ARSLÂN BEN DAOUD,*

Fourth Ortokite prince of the Sokman *branch.*

COPPER, An. 562.

I. AREA. Effigies principis una manu sceptrum tenentis, altera globum.

SIDE. Anno (56)2. سنه ثنـ و

II. AREA and SIDES. الملك العالم العادل فخر الدين
قرا ارسلان بن داود بن ارتق

Rex sapiens, justus *Fakhr-ed-dîn Karâ Arslân ben Daoud ben Ortok.*

MARGIN. Illegible.

The globe and sceptre not being insignia of eastern royalty, we may conclude that the figure on this, as on most of the money of the preceding branch of Ortokite princes, was borrowed from their European neighbours. The date is very imperfect, but as a contraction of the word اثنين or ثنين "two" appears to follow the word سنه "anno," and as the reign of *Fakhr-ed-dîn Karâ Arslân* ended in 562, it may be conjectured that the coinage may have taken place in the course of that year in which he died. No mention of the khalif is made in the legend, unless we suppose that his name and title, contrary to the usual practice, formed the obliterated marginal inscription.

Some coins of this prince, but without date, are preserved in the cabinet of the king of France. Of the three preceding reigns of the Sokman branch it does not appear that any have been discovered.

The year in which the reign of this prince commenced has not been ascertained, but the Chronicon Syriacum, relating the transactions of the year 544, states that *Nûr-ed-dîn* (*ben Zengi*) king of Aleppo demanded assistance, in that year, of *Karâ Arslân*, lord of *Hesn (Kheifa).*

CXLVIII.—CLII.

نور الدين محمود بن قرا ارسلان *NÛR-ED-DÎN MAHMÛD (or MUHAMMED) BEN KARÂ ARSLÂN,*

Fifth prince.

COPPER, An. 562-581.

I. AREA. Figura erecta hominis sancti, si non Jesu Christi, capite nimbo circumdato.

ملك الامرا Rex principum.

محمود *Mahmúd.* IH. IC. ƆXCM.

II. AREA. Figuræ duæ hominum ad crucem altam manus porrigentium.

العادل نور الدين justus, *Núr-ed-dín.*

XMIC. TIIVIC. S. TINIC.

If any proofs were wanting of the entire absence of connexion between the images on Ortokite money and the princes whose superscription it bears, they would be found in this coin, where the figures and characters belonging to them are manifestly Christian. Why such emblems were adopted by those who professed islaemism, it is the less important to inquire, because we have hitherto found them indiscriminately imitating (as well, perhaps, to enhance the value of the currency, as for ornament) the dies of whatever foreign medals presented themselves, and especially those of the Greek empire. Doubts have indeed been entertained whether, instead of copying the dies, these Ortokite princes did not use the foreign coins themselves, and re-impress them partially with their own legends; but examination will shew, I think, the little probability of this being the case, although actual countermarks are perceptible in a few instances.

Of this coin there are five specimens, yet much of the inscription remains unascertained, and particularly the mahometan symbol, which, there is reason to believe, occupied the margin, and may have been intentionally obliterated. The word العادل "justus" appears to want an antecedent, and though it may have been intended to follow in con-

COPPER, An. 562-581.

nexion with ملك الامرا "rex principum," it seems more likely that other words should intervene; and accordingly on a coin of the same reign, but exhibiting different figures, Adler reads عين العادل عماد الدين "oculus justitiæ, columna fidei;" which however, with some other peculiarities in the same legend, require confirmation.(1)

To the date we can make no nearer approximation than the limits of *Nûr-ed-dîn Mahmûd's* reign, which began in 562 and ended in 581. On one specimen, otherwise much defaced, the name of *Mahmûd* is quite distinct. It should be observed that after the Greek letters I H, at the side of the principal figure (which wears a square breast-plate, as if of precious stones, resembling that of Aaron) there follows a Cufic *sin* (s), which may have been a substitute for Σ *sigma* and meant to form the monogram IHΣ.

CLIII.

نور الدين محمد بن قرا ارسلان *NÛR-ED-DÎN MUHAMMED (or MAHMÛD) BEN KARÂ ARSLÂN.*

COPPER, An. 571.

I. AREA. Avis cum capite humano (si non angelus) nimbo circumdato.

SIDES. سنه احد و سبعين و خمس مايه
Anno 571 (1175).

II. AREA.

(1) By Adler a similar coin is thus described. "Ab una parte habetur figura cujusdam sancti, nimbo coronati, ad cujus latus notæ quædam litterarum scriptæ sunt, quas me non intelligere, libere profiteor. Ab altera parte, ni fallor, crucis figura animadvertitur, et ad utrumque latus duo homines stantes, et manum, ut videtur, ad crucem extendentes. Inscriptionis Arabicæ detritæ duæ tantum voces supersunt," (which he applies erroneously to *Husâm ed-dîn*, of the other Ortokite branch). "Sed quid significent notæ in margine dextra perscrutari non potui, nisi forte præferant vocem Græcam compendiariam (ut IHC Ιησους) ex eodem nummo Græco, ut et cætera, ab Arabibus imperiti transcriptam, vel etiam in ipso Græco nummo pridem exsistentem, qui dein Saracenorum moneta fuerit denuo, intactis typis anterioribus, signatus." Mus. Cuf. Borg. nº. XXXIV. p. 62.

II. AREA. (ملك) الامرا محمد (بن) قرا ارسلان بن (داود بن) سكمان بن ارتق

SIDES. نصر الامام المستضي بامر الله امير المومنين

COPPER, An. 571.

Rex principum *Muhammed, ben Karâ Arslân, ben Daoud, ben Sokmân, ben Ortok,* adjutor *al-imâm* (antistitis) *al-Mostadhi beamr-illah* imperator Fidelium.

The proportions of the winged figure on this coin not being such as belong to any thing like human, we might be led to consider it as intended for a fabulous bird, were it not for the authority of Reiske and Eichhorn, who describe it as the portraiture of an angel.(1)

The date is at full length and perfect and the inscription altogether more circumstantial than has generally been found on the coinage of these dynasties; nor is the interpretation of the whole affected by the partial defacing of a few words. In respect to one name only (an important one indeed) is there any ambiguity. What in the legend of the coin last described is distinctly محمود *Mahmûd* seems here to be written محمد *Muhammed,* and the former being without date, a doubt may arise whether both names are designed for the same person. The list of these princes formed by De Guignes, whom I have chiefly followed, places next after *Fakhr-ed-dîn Karâ Arslân,* his son "*Noureddin Mahmoud* ou *Mohammed;*" whilst on the other hand, the Annals of Abu'lfeda state him to have been immediately succeeded by his son *Kotb-ed-dîn Mahmûd,* and the latter, by another son, named *Nûr-ed-dîn Muhammed;* but without marking the year in which the reign of the one brother ended, and that of the other commenced.(2) Upon such authority the distinction

(1) "Ein Engel, der den rechten Flügel in die Höhe hält, und den linken sinken lässt. Man sieht die linke Hand ausgestrekt; die rechte aber gar nicht." "An Angel whose right wing is raised, whilst the left hangs downwards. The left hand we perceive to be extended; the right hand not." Repertorium XVIII^er. Theil, p. 35. The reading of the coin is there correct, with the exception of the date, which is stated to be 561; but not only are the characters that express 70 perfectly clear in my specimen, but the error is historically obvious, as the year 561 belonged to the preceding reign.

(2) "Eodem (anno 562) obiit Fachr-ed-din Cara Arslan, filius Davudi, filii Socmani, f. Ortoki, dominus Hesn Caifæ; cui succedebat filius, Cotb-ed-din Mahmud." T. III. p. 605. "Anno 579 occupabat sultan Salah-ed-din Amidam post obsidionem et conflictum, eamque tradebat *Nur-ed-dino* Muhammedi, filio Cara-Arslani, filii Davudi, &c." T. IV. p. 55.

COPPER, An. 571. tinction of persons might readily be admitted, and the accession of *Núr-ed-dín Muhammed* be supposed to have happened some time between 562, when the father died, and 571, the date of the coin, did not the difficulty still present itself, of the names of *Núr-ed-dín* and of *Mahmúd* (not *Muhammed*) being found together on the same piece of money. So scanty however are the notices afforded by the native historians of events which took place in minor states, occupied as their attention was, at this period, with the brilliant actions of another *Núr-ed-dín*, the predecessor of *Sálah-ed-dín*, both of them formidable opponents of the crusaders, that we can scarcely hope to reconcile the apparent contradiction.

CLIV.

قطب الدين سكمان *KOTB-ED-DÍN SOKMÁN,*

Sixth (or Seventh) prince.

COPPER, An. 581-597.

I. AREA. Capita duo faciebus aversis.

SIDE. خمس مايه ..... 5 ..

II. AREA. ملك العادل قطب الدين سكمان بن محمد
بن قرا ارسلان ... بن ارتق نصر الامام الناصر....

Rex justus *Kotb-ed-dín Sokmán ben Muhammed ben Karâ Arslán, (ben Daoud), ben Ortok*, adjutor antistitis *Al-Nâser (ledín-illah)*.

SIDES. الملك ..... يوسف بن ايوب
Al-Malek ..... Yúsuf ben Ayúb.

Of the two averted faces on this coin nothing is known, nor have I met with them engraved or described as belonging to any other Collection. The prince by whom it was struck succeeded his father *Núr-ed-dín Muhammed* in 581, and died in 597; and, nearer than these limits, no approximation can be made to the date. The partly obliterated

terated marginal inscription appears to have contained the name of *Sálah-ed-dín*, who asserted sovereign rights in the territory of the Ortokites. It may be remarked that the family name of this branch commonly written سقمان is here سكمان *Sokmán*, with the great instead of the hard letter *káf*. COPPER, An. 581-597.

Castiglioni, from a more perfect specimen, reads معزالامام honorator antistis, instead of نصر adjutor; in which he may perhaps be correct.

CLV.

قطب الدين سكمان *KOTB-ED-DÍN SOKMÂN?*

I. AREA. Effigies principis in sellam humilem sedentis, manu globum tenentis, cui supervolant angeli duo vexilla expandentes. COPPER, An. 59(6).

SIDES. سنه .... و تسعين وخمس مايه
Anno 59.. (119.)

II. AREA. ملك الامرا ..... بن داود بن
سكمان بن ارتق نصر

SIDES. الامام الناصر لدين الله امير المومنين

Rex principum ..... *ben Daoud, ben Sokmán, ben Ortok,* adjutor antistitis *Al-Náser-ledín-illah,* imperator Fidelium.

The sitting figure on this coin bears a strong resemblance to one already described as belonging to the *Il-Gházi* branch of the Ortokite dynasty and reign of *Husám ed-dín yúluk*, but the execution is not so contemptible. The characters, however, partly from malformation, and partly from double striking, are nearly illegible; nor have I succeeded in the attempt to discover the name of the prince by whom it was struck, although of his genealogy a part at least is detailed, and it is ascertained that he belonged to the collateral family of *Sokmán*.

With

COPPER, An. 59(6). With regard to the date, the units only are doubtful, but seem to be ست 6. The decimal requires very close inspection, but is undoubtedly تسعين 90, and in the place of the century, preceded by the copulative, the word خمس 5 is distinct, with مايه "hundred" above it. If the coinage took place before the year 597, it must have been under the reign of *Kotb-ed-dîn*; if after, under that of *Malek es-Sâlah*. To the former, as the more probable, it is here assigned.

The most remarkable circumstance that presents itself is, the figure of the prince being surmounted by angels displaying flags, which might be thought emblems peculiar to the Atâbeg dynasty; but Abul'feda, when he acquaints us that *Seif-ed-dîn Ghâzi ben Zengi*, whose reign began in 540, was the first who caused flags to be borne over his head in solemn processions, adds: "Quod exemplum ceteri reguli provinciales imitabantur." T. III. p. 509. The emblems on their money might be imitated in like manner.

CLVI.

ملك الصالح ناصر الدين محمود بن محمد *MALEK AS-SÂLAH NASER-ED-DÎN MAHMÛD BEN MUHAMMED,*

Seventh (or Eighth) prince.

COPPER, An. 597-618.

I. AREA. لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله صلي الله عليه
الناصر لدين الله امير المومنين

Non est deus nisi Deus. Muhammed est legatus Dei. *Al-Nâser ledîn-illah* imperator Fidelium.

SIDES. Illegible.

II. AREA. ملك الماعظم بن . . . محمد ملك الامرا
نصرة الدين محمود .... بن محمد

Rex maximus *ben* .... *Muhammed* rex principum. *Nasrat-ed-dîn Mahmûd* . . . . . *ben Muhammed.*

SIDES. Illegible.

Although

Copper, An. 597-618.

Although the inscription in Area I. of this coin is perfectly legible, and in Area II. the characters in general are less defaced than those of many others that have, notwithstanding, been satisfactorily read, yet the legend on the latter side, and particularly in the first two lines, presents several difficulties. The marginal inscriptions also being obliterated, neither date nor place can be ascertained, and even the name of *Malek as-Sâlah*, to whom I have assigned it, is not any where directly expressed. The period, within certain limits, at which it was struck, is indicated by its containing the well-known title of *Nâser-ledîn-illah*, whose khalifat began in 575 and ended in 622, and as the reign of the Ortokite prince was from 597 to 618, it should consequently fall within those limits. That it is connected with the *Sokmân* branch of that family, may be presumed from the title of ملك الامرا *Malek al-Amra*, rex principum, which the members of it affected,(1) and which was not borne by the *Il-Ghazi* branch, nor by their cotemporaries, the Atâbegs, or the Ayubites. But what seems to afford the strongest presumption of the identity is the name, together with the patronymic, of *Nasrat* or *Naser-ed-dîn Mahmûd* ben *Muhammed*, which belonged to *Malek as-Sâlah*, the son of *Nûr-ed-dîn Muhammed*, and do not apply to any other individual of that time. Some difficulty, however, arises here from the intervention of an epithet, as it would seem, between محمود and بن محمد .

CLVII.

ملك الصالح ناصر الدين محمود *MALEK-AS-SÂLAH NÂSER-ED-DÎN MAHMÛD.*

Copper, An. 615-618.

I. Area. Caput vultu liberali (sed detrito) ad dextram aspiciente.

Margin. ناصر الدين ..... *Náser-ed-dín.*

II. Area.

(1) " Quos inter numi Nureddini Muh. (the father of *Malek as-Sâlah*) dynastæ Hesn Caifæ et Amidæ titulis hyperbolicis, *rex emirorum, oculus justitiæ*, &c. ceteros antecellunt." O. G. Tychsen, Introd. in rem. num. p. 89. " *Malec el-omara* h.e. rex principum audit Nur-ed-din. Titulus honoris, historicis prorsus ignotus." Adler, Collectio nova, p. 103.

COPPER, An. 615-618.

II. AREA. الناصر لدين الله امير المومنين
الملك الكامل ناصر الدين محمد بن ايوب

Al-Náser-ledín-illah imperator Fidelium. *Al-Malek al-Kámel Náser-ed-dín Muhammed ben Ayúb.*

SIDE. Cuditur anno .... ضرب سنه

The name of the Ortokite prince (removed from the Area to the Margin of his coin by the arrogant pretensions of the Ayubites) is so nearly obliterated, that it is from inference only we are enabled to refer it to *Malek as-Sâlah Nâser ed-dín.* The date also has been defaced or lost by ex-centric striking; but as it was in the year 615 that *Malek al-Kámel* succeeded his father *Malek al-Adel Seif-ed-dín,* in 622 that the reign of the khalif, and in 618 that the reign of *Malek as-Sâlah* himself terminated,(1) the uncertainty applies only to an interval of about three years. I do not find that this coin has been elsewhere described.

CLVIII.

ملك الصالح ناصر الدين محمود *MALEK AS-SÂLAH NÂSER-ED-DÎN MAHMÛD.*

COPPER, An. 617.

I. AREA. Aquila biceps imperialis.

INNER CIRCLE. الملك الصالح (ناصر) الدين محمود
(Malek) as-Sâlah (Náser) ed-dín Mahmúd.

MARGIN. Illegible.

II. AREA.

(1) "Eodem anno 618, aut proxime sequente 619 .... obiit Amidæ atque Hesn-Caifæ dominus, *Malec es-Saleh Naser-ed-din* Mahmud, filius Muhammedis, filii Cara Arslani, &c. ex morbo colico, vir improbus. Succedebat ipsi filius, Malec el-Masud, cui deinceps Malec el-Camel Amidam ademit." Abulf. Annales, t. IV. p. 309.

II. AREA and EXTERNAL ANGLES. الملك الكامل ناصر الدين محمد COPPER, An. 617.

Al-Malek Al-Kamel Náser-ed-dín Muhammed.

INTERN. ANGLES. .... بامد سنه سبع عشر ....

(Cuditur) in Amida, anno (6)17 (1220).

Upon this coin we see what is termed the Roman Imperial Eagle or aquila biceps; nor ought it to be a subject of surprise, in the first instance, when we observe the indiscriminate use made by these people of foreign emblems, and that the emperors of Germany being amongst the crusaders, their money must have found its way into Syria. Frederic I. was one of those sovereigns who contended with the great *Sálah-ed-dín*, and Frederic II. is recorded to have negotiated a peace, in 625–1227, with *Malek Al-Kámel*, the nephew of that sultan.(1) The origin, however, of this peculiar armorial bearing seems not to have been determined by the antiquaries of Germany, Italy, or France; but they have shewn strong grounds for disproving its existence in the days of either of those emperors. The author, indeed, of a dissertation in the Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscript. t. IX. could trace it no higher, with any degree of certainty, than the year 1459.(2) If therefore the fact be, that it was unknown to European heraldry in the thirteenth century, it follows that it must have been subsequently adopted from the orientals, and the coin in question may have been the actual prototype of the German coat of arms: for we cannot admit the probability of the device, unnatural as it is, having been the separate invention of two countries.

Although with some defective parts, the name of the Ortokite prince, *Malek as-Salâh* (the brother of *Kotb-ed-dín*) is sufficiently legible in the interior circle of I. In the centre of II. is the commencement and most distinguished

(1) "Nomen isti Imperatori erat Ferdik (Fridericus Secundus). Nam Imperatoris appellatio non est proprium nomen, sed honoris titulus, regem seu principem ducum minorum ملك الامرا designans." Abulfeda Ann, t. IV. p. 349. an. 625-1227.

(2) "Quelques auteurs veulent que ce soit Charles-Quint qui ait commencé à la prendre; ils se trompent, on la trouve sur des sceaux de l'empereur Frederic IV. en 1459, et peut-estre même de l'empereur Sigismond son prédécesseur: mais l'aigle imperiale de l'Abbaye de la Magdeleine est encore incontestablement plus ancienne." P. 184.

COPPER, An. 617. distinguished portion of the name of the Ayubite, the sequel of which is to be read in the external angles formed by the intersection of two triangles, making together that of *Malek Al-Kâmel Nâser-ed-dîn Muhammed*, who in 615 succeeded his father *Malek Al-Adel* in the kingdom of Egypt and a great part of Syria, and died in 635. The internal angles contain the date (the century alone being obscure), together with the place of coinage. *Amid* or *Kara-Amid* (now called Diarbekr) a strong city on the Tigris, and the usual capital of the *Sokmân* family, was taken in 579, after an obstinate resistance, by *Sâlah-ed-dîn* (probably from *Kotb-ed-dîn Mahmûd*), and by him given into the possession of *Nûr-ed-dîn*, who had previously reigned in *Hesn Kheifa*.

CLIX.

ملك المسعود سكمان *MALEK AL-MASÀÛD SOKMÂN,*

Eighth (or Ninth) and last prince.

COPPER, An. 618-622.

I. AREA. Effigies principis galeati, una manu sceptrum tenentis, altera globum.

MARGIN and SIDES. Defaced.

II. AREA. الملك المسعود (ركن) الدين سكمان بن محمود بن قرا (ارسلان)

Malek al-Masàûd (Rukn) ed-dîn ben Mahmûd ben Karâ (Arslân).

MARGIN. الامام الناصر امير....

Imâm Al-Nâser imperator .....

Of this prince nothing is known but that he succeeded his father *Malek as-Sâlah Nâser ed-dîn Mahmûd* in 618 or 619, and, upon the reduction of his capital by *Malek al-Kâmel*, in 629, that he was carried prisoner to Egypt, where (or in Syria) lands were assigned to him. With respect to the date of the coin, as the khalif whose name appears on it died in 622, it is brought within the limit of three or four years.

Upon

Upon a coin similar to this in many circumstances (although not in the figure) and dated in 621, Castiglioni finds the names المسعود ركن الدين مودود بن محمود بن ارتق, which he reads *Masud Rocneddin* (figlio di) *Maudud* figlio di *Mahmud* figlio di *Ortok:* but upon mine I do not perceive any characters that justify the reading of "figlio di *Maudud* figlio di *Mahmud.*" Abu'lfeda says: "Eodem anno 618 aut proxime sequente 619, obiit Amidæ atque Hesn-Caifæ dominus, Malec es Saleh Naser-ed-din Mahmud filius Muhammedis &c. succedebat ipsi filius, Malec el-Masud, cui deinceps Malec el-Camel Amidam ademit." T. IV. p. 309. "Al-Camel urbe Amedâ ipsius domino ablatâ, ejus loco oppida quædam in Syria ipsi dedit." Hist. Dynast. p. 311. COPPER, An. 618-622.

ATÂBEGS.

THE Turkish appellation of a اتابك *Atâbeg* signifies the Father, or, figuratively, the Tutor of the prince, and was given especially to those powerful ministers who, under the latter princes of the Seljukian race, availed themselves of the incapacity of their masters, not only to exercise the entire authority of the state, but also to acquire for themselves and their descendants independent principalities. In these, however, they still affected their original denomination, and did not assume the then prevalent title of sultan.

They are distinguished by historians into four dynasties, according to the countries over which their rule extended; namely, the Atâbegs of Irak, of *Adherbijan*, of Persia proper, and of *Laristan*; amongst whom those of Irak were the first in point of time as well as of political importance, and to them the *Atâbeg* coinage preserved in this Collection chiefly, if not wholly, belonged.

In the year 521–1127 the Seljukian sultan *Mahmûd*, son of *Muhammed*, son of *Malek-Shâh*, appointed his *Atâbeg* named *Imâd-ed-dîn Zengi* عماد الدين زنگي (Pillar of the state), son of *Aksankar* اقسنقر, governor of the city of Baghdâd: to such a state of humiliation had the khalifs been depressed. To this was soon afterwards annexed the government of Mosul, which had been held by his brother *Azz-ed-dîn*. In the following year he made himself master of the cities of *Haleb* (Aleppo) and *Hamah*, in Syria. In 529 he took Edessa and Bir, on the Euphrates, from the Franks (whose historians make mention of him by the name of Sanguin, a corruption of *Zengi*), and was killed in 540–1145. He appears to have made Mosul his chief residence, and upon his death a division took place in the dynasty, which became distinguished into the *Mosul* branch and the *Haleb* branch, both of which, from the surname of their ancestor, were commonly denominated *Beni Zengi*, and known in history by that appellation. The princes who were members of the former are enumerated as follows:

ATÂBEGS OF *IRAK,*

MOSUL BRANCH.

		A.H.	A.D.
1. *Imâd-ed-dîn Zengi*	عماد الدين زنگي	521	1127
2. *Seif-ed-dîn Ghâzi ben Zengi*	سيف الدين غازي بن زنگي	540	1145
3. *Kotb-ed-dîn Maudud ben Zengi*	قطب الدين مودود بن زنگي	544	1149
4. *Al-Moaz Seif-ed-dîn Ghâzi ben Maudûd*	المعز سيف الدين غازي بن مودود	565	1170
5. *Azz-ed-dîn Masàud ben Maudûd*	عز الدين مسعود بن مودود	576	1180
6. *Nûr-ed-dîn (Bedr-ed-dîn) Arslân Shâh ben Masàud*	نور الدين (بدر الدين) ارسلان شاه بن مسعود	589	1193
7. *Malek al-Kâher Azz-ed-dîn Masàud ben Nûr-ed-dîn*	ملك القاهر عز الدين مسعود بن نور الدين	607	1210
8. *Nûr-ed-dîn Arslân Shâh ben Kâher*	نور الدين ارسلان شاه بن قاهر	615	1218
9. *Nâser-ed-dîn Mahmûd ben Kâher*	ناصر الدين محمود بن قاهر	616	1219
10. *Al-Malek ar-rahim Bedr-ed-dîn Lûlû*	الملك الرحيم بدر الدين لولو	619	1222
11. *Al-Malek as-Sâlah Ismàîl ben Lûlû*	الملك الصالح اسمعيل بن لولو	657	1259

He reigned only one year.

CLX.—CLXI.

مودود بن زنگي بن اقسنقر *MAUDÛD BEN ZENGI BEN AKSANKAR,*

Third Atâbeg of Irak reigning at Mosul.

I. AREA. Caput principis, facie prope obversa, foliis palmæ cinctum, cui supervolant angeli duo vexilla decussata gerentes. COPPER, An. 556.

SIDES. (سنه) ست و خمسين و خمس مايه

(Anno) 556 (1160).

II. AREA.

COPPER, An. 556.

II. AREA. الملك العادل العالم ملك امرا الشرق
والغرب طغرل بك بن اتابك

Rex justus, sapiens, *Malek Amra* (rex principum) Orientis et Occidentis, *Toghrul-beg ben Atâbeg*.

MARGIN. مودود بن زنگي بن اقسنقر
Maudúd ben Zengi ben Aksankar.

Another.

سبع و خمسين و خمسمايه
(Anno) 557 (1161).

Upon the death of *Imâd-ed-dín*, the founder of the Atâbeg dynasty, in 540, his eldest son *Núr-ed-dín Mahmúd* took possession of *Haleb*, whilst *Seif-ed-dín Ghâzi* and *Kotb-ed-dín Maudúd* remained at *Mosul*. The former of these ascended the throne of that place, and reigned a little more than three years, when, in 544, he was succeeded by his younger brother *Maudúd*, whose name appears on this coin.

In general we have seen the figures with which the money of the Turkomân dynasties was intended to be ornamented, copied from that of foreign states, but the very peculiar emblems with which this head is surrounded, combined with a circumstance recorded of *Seif-ed-dín*,(1) justify the belief that in the present instance we have a genuine native design, executed with a reasonable degree of skill.(2)

In the date of 556 there is a small graphical mistake, which might occasion a doubt as to the accuracy of the unit, the word سنه "anno" being expressed instead of ست; between which, in Cufic, the difference is only that of the final aspirate. It may be said that the former word should be presumed correct, because it is required to perfect the sense: but its being followed by the copulative, connecting it with the decimal, shews that a numeral was intended; and in the three subsequent coins, the

(1) "Primus est," says Abu'lfeda speaking of *Seif-ed-dín*, "qui, dum in equestre pompa prodiret, super capite sublatum et undans habebat vexillum." Annales, t. III. p. 509. The coincidence is certainly very striking.

(2) Assemani, however, supposes it to be "copiata da una qualche moneta antica." (Mus. Naniano, p. XCIX.)

the words for seven and eight, in their dates, stand precisely as the six in this, unaccompanied by سنة "anno." COPPER, An. 556.

The inscriptions on the coins bearing this image are remarkably distinct, and one at least of the specimens seems never to have been in circulation. A difficulty, however, of considerable importance presents itself in the first name, and the most conspicuous as occupying the area. That of *Maudûd ben Zengi*, in the margin, is quite intelligible and consonant with history, as the period of his reign embraced the year expressed by the date; but with respect to such a prince as *Toghrul-beg ben Atâbeg*, I profess myself ignorant, and to the learned persons who have preceded me in this study, it has been equally a stumbling block.(3) By Assemani the two names are considered as applying to the same individual, and are read consecutively, "*Toghrul-beg* son of *Atabeg*, son (although the word *ben* does not here occur) of *Maudûd*, son of *Zengi*;" and Eichhorn, the commentator of Reiske, styles him *Toghrul-beg* the son of *Maudûd*. The impropriety and inconsistency of this is so obvious as scarcely to require refutation. No such filiation existed. *Maudûd*, though actually on the throne at the time the coin was struck, is made by the one writer to be the ancestor, and by the other the son, of *Toghrul*, the supposed reigning prince. It should also be noticed that Reiske omits the term of filiation, *ben*, which distinctly precedes the word *Atâbeg*.

The more plausible supposition, although by no means free from objection, is, that the names in the area and the margin are those of different personages, and that *Toghrul-beg* stood in the same relation to *Maudûd* that the Ayubite princes did to the Ortokite; that of lords paramount. The Atâbegs certainly held their dominions, in point of form at least, of the *Seljûk* sultans of Irân, and *Toghrul* is not only the name of the founder of that dynasty, but it was borne also by some of his successors, particularly by one who died in 529, and by another who began to reign in 571 and died in 590. At the period of this coinage, however,

(3) "Chi sia poi,' says Assemani, who gives an engraving of the coin, 'questo Re Thughrulbek Atabeko, io non so dirlo, perchè mi mancha la Serie perfetta dei Re Atabeki." Page C. Castiglioni acknowledges himself equally uninformed. P. 143.

COPPER, An. 556. however, or about the years 556 and 568, the reigning sultan was *Arslân Shah*, the son of the former of these two; but although we suppose a chronological mistake in the mussulman annals, or that the name of *Toghrul* might have been affected as a general patronymic, still we must be at a loss to account for any of these Seljuk monarchs being termed the son of Atâbeg, whether the latter be considered as a proper name or an appellative. Such is the exposure of a difficulty which some more industrious or fortunate investigator may be enabled hereafter to remove.

Amongst the peculiarities of the inscription it is not the least remarkable that to *Toghrul-beg* is attributed the pompous title of king of the princes of the East and West, with reference perhaps to victories gained, by himself or his predecessors, over the armies of the Crusaders.(4)

An engraving of this coin is given by Assemani, n°. LXXXIX. and also by Niebuhr, still less perfect, tab. XI. n°. 12. The form of the characters is pure Cufic, and no diacritical points appear, although at the same period they were not uncommon in other provinces of the late empire of the khalifs, and particularly in Africa.

A second of the same reign, with the same legends, bears the date of 557.

(4) It may be deemed a fanciful etymology, but I have long entertained the opinion that the terms الشرق *As-Sherk* East and الغرب *Al-Gherb* or غرب *Ghereb* West gave origin to the distinctive names of Asia and Europe; but through which dialect of the Shemitic languages, whether the Arabic (less probably), the Hebrew, the Syriac, or Phœnician, must necessarily be uncertain. I am aware I shall be told that مغرب *Meghreb* (a formative from غرب *ghereb*) is now exclusively applied to those Arab tribes who inhabit northern Africa; but the term is relative, and its particular application in one place furnishes no argument against its use in a more extensive sense in another. If necessary, indeed, I might avail myself of the authority of those ancient writers noticed by Pliny, who considered the geographical division called Europe as comprehending the half, not a third only, of the then known world; and it will be observed that Europa, who is fabled to have given her name to that western region, was herself the daughter of a Phœnician king. That the word الشرقين *As-Sherekîn* (orientals) gave origin to the Saracen (more properly *Saraken*) of European writers, is now generally admitted.

CLXII. CLXIII.

سيف الدين غازي بن مودود *SEIF-ED-DÎN GHÂZI BEN MAUDÛD,*

Fourth Atábeg of Mosul.

COPPER, An. 568-570.

I. AREA. Figure as in the preceding.

SIDES. ثمان و ستين و خمس مايه

(Anno) 568 (1172).

II. AREA. الملك العادل العادل ملك امرا الشرق
و الغرب طغرل بك بن اتابك

Rex justus &c. *Toghrul beg ben Atábeg.*

MARGIN. غازي بن مودود بن زنكي

Ghâzi ben Maudúd ben Zengi.

Another.

سنه سبعين و خمس مايه

Anno 570 (1174).

Upon the death of *Maudúd*, in 565, his second son, named *Seif-ed-dîn Ghâzi*, was placed on the throne, by the nobles, in preference to the elder, named *Imád-ed-dîn Zengi*. The injured brother, in consequence, applied for redress to his uncle, the great *Núr-ed-dîn*, prince of *Haleb*, who in the following year repaired to Mosul, but there determined that *Ghâzi* should continue to reign, and assigned to *Zengi* the principality of *Sanjâra* سنجار, in Mesopotamia.(1)

The

(1) The expressions used by Abu'lfeda in relating this transaction are worthy of attention: "Ut urbem (Mauselam) *sui juris* fecerat *Nur-ed-din*, ibique res ex animi sententia ordinaret, donabat eam eidem Saif-ed-dino Gazio; fratri autem ejus natu majori, Emad-ed-dino Zenkio, Sangaram (*Sanjaram*) attribuebat." T. III. p. 631. From hence we learn that *Nur-ed-dîn*, although upon the death of their common father, Zengi, he relinquished Mosul to his younger brother *Maudûd*, still considered himself as having a paramount right to the whole dominion; and as in this instance the right appears to have been admitted by his nephews, we should be inclined to look for his name on the coinage, in addition to that of the reigning prince. Could we then suppose that the

COPPER, An. 568-570. The figures on the coins of *Seif-ed-dîn* are, as nearly as the artist could make them, the same as on those of his predecessors. Of the year 568 there are three specimens, and of 570, one. In the last the word سنة "anno," omitted in the others, is restored.

CLXIV.

سيف الدين غازي بن مودود *SEIF-ED-DÎN GHÂZI BEN MAUDÛD.*

COPPER, An. 575.

I. AREA. Caput galeatum, facie ex dimidio s. laterali aspectu, posita.

MARGIN. Third symbol.

II. AREA. ملك الامرا غازي بن مودود
Rex principum *Ghâzi ben Maudûd.*

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب بالجزيرة سنة خمس وسبعين و خمس مايه
In nomine Dei cuditur in *Jezîreh (ibn Omar)* anno 575 (1179).

Although this coin belongs to the same reign, the figure on it differs entirely from those which precede, and exhibits little of the appearance of oriental manners or costume. The style of the inscription also is materially changed, and approaches to what is found on the money of the khalifs. It is in but indifferent preservation, and the characters in the Area have particularly suffered. The name of the place of coinage is not distinct, but it has the appearance of *Al-Jezireh* الجزيرة, and must be intended for *Jezireh ibn Omar*, a place of some note on the Tigris, between *Hesn Kheifa* and *Mosul*, which is mentioned by Abu'lfeda as the subject

the former, besides his mussulman name of *Nûr-ed-dîn* (light of the faith) affected the Turkish appellation of *Toghrul-beg ben Atâbeg* (his family being from Turkistân), we should at once clear up all the doubts and apparent contradictions noticed in the remarks on the preceding coin.

subject of a bequest from *Seif-ed-dín Ghâzi* to one of his family, when his death, which took place in the year following the date of this coin, was drawing near.(1) By Castiglioni the name is read مزيله, "in vece di موصل *Mossul*," from a bad specimen. COPPER, An. 575.

CLXVI. CLXVII.

ناصر الدين محمود بن قاهر *NÂSER-ED-DÎN MAHMÛD BEN KÂHER,*

Ninth Atábeg of Mosul.

I. AREA. Caput principis, facie prope obversa, foliis palma cinctum, cui supervolant angeli duo vexilla decussata gerentes. COPPER, An. 620.

SIDES. ضرب بالموصل سنة عشرين و ست مايه
Cuditur in *Mosul* anno 620 (1223).

II. AREA. لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله الناصر
لدين الله امير المومنين عزة الدنيا و الدين
ابونصر محمد

Third symbol. *Al-Náser-ledín illah* imperator Fidelium. *Azzet ed-duniya wa ed-dín Abu Nasr Muhammed.*

SIDES. الملك الكامل الملك الاشرف ناصر الدين اتابك محمود
Malek al-Kámel. Malek al-Ashraf. Náser-ed-dín Atábeg Mahmúd.

The head and surrounding emblems on this coin are the same as have been already noticed on those belonging to the reigns of *Maudúd* and his successor, in the years 556 to 570.

(1) "Fini proximus principatum fratri, *Azz-ed-dín* Masudo, tribuebat, *filio* autem, Sangarschaho, præter Gazirat-ibn-Omar, eoque spectantes arces, nihil." T. IV. p. 43. Instead of being his *son*, is it not more probable that *Sanjar-Sháh* سنجرشاه was the elder brother to whom *Sanjara* was given *en apanage*, by *Núr-ed-dín*?

COPPER, An. 620.

Nûr-ed-dîn and his brother *Nâser-ed-dîn Atâbeg* were left by their father *Al-Káher Azz-ed-dîn Masàud* under the tutelage of *Bedr-ed-dîn Lúlá* his confidential minister. The former reigned only one year. His younger brother *Nâser-ed-dîn*, in whose name it was struck, is stated to have reigned three years; but grounds will appear for supposing that, nominally at least, it was much longer.

In addition to his, and the usual complimentary name of the khalif, we find those of the two Ayubite princes *Malek al-Kâmel* and *Malek al-Ashraf*, sons of *Malek al-Adel*, preceded by the words *Azzet ed-duniya wa ed-dîn Abu Nasr Muhammed*, which seem to be pompous epithets (glory of the world and of the faith, &c.) applied to one or both of the brothers. If meant to denote a distinct individual, I can only say that no traces of one so named appear in history. The character is remarkably fair, on two specimens in a state of perfect preservation, but in that which has been selected for engraving, the numeral of the date has the appearance of عشرة 10, whilst on the other it is distinctly عشرين 20. It is observable that the two very dissimilar forms (cufic and *nishki*) of the letter د occur in the inscription.

On a coin of the year 585 described by Castiglioni he reads the words عظم الدنيا و الدين ابو نصر محمد, and remarks that "Il campo ci offre poi il nome di un altro Principe *Atimeddunia vaddin Abu Nasr Mohammed*, che ho inutilmente cercato fra tutte le dinastie in allora regnante." A comparison of the two legends will, I think, render it evident that the words are a mere honorary title, not the name of an individual, and that the difference of عزة the Pride and عظم the Glory (of the world) is immaterial. He describes also the duplicate of this coin of 620, and repeats his remark; whilst his engraving shews that the word is عزة, not عز, as in his reading.

CLXVIII.

ناصر الدين محمود *NÂSER-ED-DÎN MAHMÛD.*

I. Area. Effigies principis sedentis, pedibus decussatim suppositis, orinibus longis, manu globum tenentis. Copper, An. 623.

Sides. ناصر الدين . . . د

Nâser-ed-dîn (Mahmû)d.

Margin. . . . . بالمو . . . . . .

. . . . . in (Mosul) . . . . . .

II. Area. الامام المسصر (المستنصر) بالله

امير المومنين الملك الكامل محمد

Imâm Al-Mostanser-billah imperator Fidelium. *Maleh al-Kâmel Muhammed.*

Margin, illegible. . . . . عشرين . . . .

The figure on this coin being, as the mode of sitting shews, undoubtedly oriental, we may presume it to have been intended for a portrait; but as the reigning prince was little more than an infant, it may be thought more probably to represent the minister or actual ruler, *Bedr-ed-dîn*, under whose tutelage the two brothers were educated and suffered to enjoy, successively, the regal title. By Abu'lfeda we are told that the death of *Nâser-ed-dîn* happened in 619, three years after that of *Nûr-ed-dîn*;(1) which is contrary to the evidence of his coinage; for, besides the date of 620 on the money last described, this, although wanting a specific date, must have been struck in or after the year 623, because it bears the name of the khalif *Mostanser*, whose accession did not take place until that year. The earliest in this Collection having the name of the regent, is of 627.(2)

Something

(1) "Anno 619 potiebatur *Bedr-ed-din Lulu* principatu Mauselense integro, post mortem pueri, quem ipse in principe gradu collocaverat, Naser-ed-dini Mahmudi, filii Malec el-Caheri, &c." T. IV. p. 313.

(2) The chronology of Abu'lfaraj as to these events

COPPER, An. 623. Something appears beneath or in front of the cushion on which he is seated, but whether designed for characters or not, I am unable to ascertain: nor is the word محمد *Muhammed* (the surname of الكامل *Al-Kâmel*) by any means distinct. In the name of the khalif المستنصر *Al-Mostanser*, the middle syllable, consisting of the two letters تن, is omitted, in order to bring the word within the line, and two dots or points, perhaps in reference to this elision, are placed over it. The coin, however, is in a good state of preservation. An engraving of a similar one is given by Adler (Mus. Cuf. Borg. Tab. v. n°. XLI. with a description, p. 67), but it is too imperfect to demand any particular notice.

CLXIX. CLXX.

بدر الدين لولو *BEDR-ED-DÎN LÛLÛ,*

Tenth Atâbeg of Mosul.

COPPER, An. 627. I. AREA. Effigies principis pedibus decussatim insidentis, manibus sustinentis lunam crescentem.

MARGIN and SIDES. ضرب بالموصل سنه
سبع و عشرين و ست ما . .

Cuditur in *Mosul* anno 627 (1229).

II. AREA. الامام لااله الا الله محمد رسول الله
المستنصر بالله امير المومنين

Third symbol. *Imâm al-Mostanser-billah*, imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN. بدر الدنيا و الدين اتابك . . ملك الاشرف

Bedr-ed-duniya wa ed-dîn Atâbeg . . Malek al-Ashraf.

This

events differs entirely from that of Abu'lfeda. "Anno 631, says the former, obiit *Naser'oddin Mahmud ebno'l Kaher, ebn Nuro'ddin* Mauselæ dominus, pervenitque à Chalifa diploma de *Badro'ddino Luluo* præficiendo; pro eo ergo ut *soltano* in suggestis oratum." Hist. Dynast. p. 311. The truth probably lies about half way between the two authorities, as will appear from the date of the next coin.

This remarkable coin belongs to the reign of *Bedr-ed-dín Lúlú*, before-mentioned, who, from a servile condition, was raised to be governor to the children of his master *Al-Káher Azz-ed-dín Masdud*; was afterwards regent of the kingdom in their names, and upon their deaths became a powerful prince in his own right. After exercising the functions of royalty for some years, he received in 631 a formal investiture from the khalif *Mostanser*,(1) whose name he had been in the practice of inscribing on his coins, and died in 657, after a long and prosperous reign. He appears to have been endowed with considerable talents.(2) COPPER, An. 627.

The Crescent so whimsically supported in the hands of the sitting figure, may be presumed to bear an allusion to the name of *Bedr-ed-dín*, which signifies the "Moon" of the Faith.

Although there are two specimens of the coin (one of them much defaced), the marginal inscription of II. is not perfectly made out, and some pains appear to have been taken to deface even the name of *Bedr*, which, however, is distinguishable. It is preceded or followed, in the circle, by characters that seem to compose the name of ملك الاشرف *Malek al-Ashraf*, who was his powerful supporter.(3) Adler indeed (Collect. nova, p. 91) reads them, on a specimen dated in 654, ملك الرحيم *Malek er-rahím*, which was a title assumed by *Bedr-ed-dín*; but this was many years after the death of *Ashraf*, and in the khalifat of *Mostásem*. In the imperfect specimens of coins with a similar figure, of which Niebuhr has furnished engravings, the word خمسين 50 is given as the decimal of the date. In that described by Reiske and Eichhorn, on the contrary, it is, as in mine, عشرين 20, with the name of *Mostanser*.

There is also in the Collection a third specimen with the same emblematic figure, but containing inscriptions unconnected with the *Atábeg* dynasty, being the name and epithets of a Moghul prince. To his race, therefore,

(1) See the preceding Note.

(2) "Hoc (Cahero) denique defuncto, quod anno 615 accidit, constituebat quidem in ejus loco geminos ejus filios, unum post alterum; sed pro arbitrio tamen (Bedr-ed-dinus) Mauselam regebat; donec et illis ambobus angusta temporum successione exstinctis, absque collega regnaret per annos fere quadraginta tres, vir egregie felix, quem nulla perculit calamitas, cui potestatis rerumque filum nulla convulsit violentia." Abulf. Annales, t. IV. p. 569.

(3) "Maxime adjutus favore Malec el-Aschrafi, qui ejus hostes arcebat, et instituta secundabat." T. IV. p. 313.

COPPER, An. 627. therefore, the coin must be considered as belonging, and it will appear amongst those of the Moghuls of Persia.

In the Milan Collection there is a duplicate of this coin also (n° CXXXIX). The marginal inscription Castiglioni reads: "El Malec el Camel. El Malec el Aschraf. Nasereddunia vaddin Atabeg Mahmud..."

CLXXI.—CLXXVIII.

بدر الدين لولو *BEDR-ED-DÎN LÛLÛ.*

COPPER, An. 631.

I. AREA. Caput principis quadra inscriptum, facie ex dimidio posita, crinibus crispatis vitta cinctis.

SIDES. ضرب بالموصل سنه احد و ثلثين
و ست مايه

Cuditur in *Mosul* anno 631 (1233).

II. AREA. الامام المستنصر بالله امير المومنين

Imâm Al-Mostanser-billah imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN. بدر الدنيا و الدين لولو
الملك الكامل الملك الاشرف

Bedr-ed-duniya wa ed-din. Al-Malek al-Kâmel. Al-Malek al-Ashraf.

The head is here executed in a better style than on the greater part of the coins which precede, and of eight specimens three are (on that side) in perfectly good preservation. On six of them the date of 631 is legible. No two, however, are from the same die; and, in consequence of unequal striking or want of adequate surface, one only, (not in other respects the most complete) contains all the four parts of the lateral inscription; some having the defect in one quarter and some in another. The names are all distinct, and in addition to those of the Atâbeg himself and of the khalif, who in this year sent him the investiture, we find those

those of the two Ayubite princes, nephews of *Sâlah-ed-dîn*, so often mentioned, one of whom reigned in Egypt and the other at Damascus, and who both died in the year 635. COPPER, An. 631.

An incomplete specimen of the same coin is described by Castiglioni, n°. CXL. The reader will acquire an idea of the magnificence of *Lúlú* from the perusal of Niebuhr's account of the buildings in the city of Mosul erected by him, and filled with the representations of human figures. " Dans ce palais Mahometan," he says " je trouvois a mon grand étonnement 80 à 100 figures humaines. Mais pour la plus part, on leur a aussi coupé la tête." Voyage en Arabie, t. II. p. 292.

CLXXIX.

بدر الدين لولو *BEDR-ED-DÎN LÛLÛ.*

I. AREA. الاعظم المستعصم بالله امير (المومنين) . . . . . COPPER, An. 640-656.

. . . . . maximus. *Al-Mostàsem-billah*, imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN. Illegible.

II. AREA. محمد رسول الله

Muhammed est legatus Dei.

MARGIN. (بدر) الدين لولو

(*Bedr*) *ed-dín Lúlú.*

From the imperfect inscription of this obolus little information can be obtained, and to its date we can make no nearer approximation than the period of the unfortunate khalifat of *Mostàsem*, which began in 640 and ended with his violent death in 656. It does not appear to whom the epithet of الاعظم " maximus, excelsus" is meant to apply, but I apprehend it to be the Moghul conqueror, to whom, about this time, all the princes of Asia looked up, with fear and trembling, and of whom it will be necessary to say more in the sequel.

CLXXX.

بدر الدين لولو *BEDR-ED-DÎN LÛLÛ.*

GOLD, An. 650.

I. AREA. الامام لااله الا الله وحده لا شريك له
المستعصم بالله امير المومنين

First symbol. *Imâm Al-Mostàsem-billah* imperator Fidelium.

INNER CIRCLE. بسم الله ضرب هذ .....ل
سنه خمسين و ست مايه

In nomine Dei cuditur hic (denarius in *Mosul*) anno 650 (1252).

MARGIN. لله الامر من بعد ..... يفرح
المنون (المومنون) بنصر الله

Deo est imperium antehac et in futurum &c.

II. AREA. لولو محمد رسول الله صلي الله عليه
بدر الدنيا و الدين اتابك

Lúlú. Muhammed est legatus Dei, cui sit pax Dei. *Bedr-ed-duniya wa ed-dín Atábeg.*

SIDES. الملك الناصر يوسف
Al-Malek al-Náser Yúsuf.

MARGIN. Second symbol. (2 dw. 23½ gr.)

Gold coins struck by any prince of the Turkomân tribes are extremely rare, and this dinar is the only one of that description in the Collection. It is large in size and rich in its legends, but inelegant in the form of its characters and the style of engraving. Besides the name of *Bedr-ed-dín Lúlú*, it contains those of two unfortunate sovereigns who became victims to the ferocity of the Moghuls: the khalif *Mostàsem*, last of the Abbassite race, who in 656 was put to death by *Húlagú*, the grandson of *Jengiz-khán;* and *Malek al-Náser Yúsuf*, the great grandson of *Sálah-ed-*

ed-dîn, and last of the Ayubite princes of Aleppo, whose fate it was to be murdered in 659, by the same barbarous invader.(1) GOLD, An. 650.

Niebuhr has given an engraving (Tab. x. n. 2.) of a gold coin which appears to be a duplicate of this, with the exception only of the units of the date; but the description or reading of it, with which he was furnished by the learned Reiske, contains some material errors which it is the more necessary to point out, as the general accuracy and high reputation of the "Description de l'Arabie" might otherwise mislead the historian. Nothing, indeed, but the indifferent state of preservation of the specimen submitted to his examination, could have occasioned Reiske to mistake not only the names of the khalif and of the prince by whom it was coined, but every numeral of the date.

The name of the former he supposes to be المستظهر *Al-Mostathher* (according to his orthography), who reigned from 487 to 512, whereas it is that of المستعصم *Al-Mostàsem*, who reigned from 640 to 656, and was cotemporary with the Atâbeg prince, whom he names *Nasr-ed-dîn Lûlû*, instead of *Bedr-ed-dîn Lûlû Atâbeg*. Of the third party, *Malek al-Nâser Yûsuf*, no notice whatever is taken, and the traces of it are but faintly discernible in Niebuhr's plate. Partly from examination and partly from inference, he makes the date to be 503, and then very ingenuously observes that the names and the date (all of them erroneous) cannot be reconciled: but the unit, which he reads ثلث "three," is evidently from the engraving itself, احد "one;" the word which he supposes to be خمس "five," and applies to the century, is part of خمسين "fifty;" and the whole date, instead of 503, should be 651; being one year later than my specimen, which happens, fortunately, to be more perfect.(2)

 With

(1) "Après que les Mogols se furent emparés de Bagdad, ils se répandirent dans la Syrie, et se rendirent les maîtres de la plus grande partie de ce pays. L'an 658 de l'Heg. de J. C. 1260, ils prirent Alep, et massacrerent tous les habitans. Naser avoit dejà pris la fuite devant eux; ensuite il vint se rendre à Houlagou khan, auprès duquel il resta. Mais les Mogols ayant été défaits dans la Syrie, Houlagou le fit mourir." Hist. des Huns, t. I. p. 422.

(2) "Cette pièce d'or est frappée à Mosul en 503. Le dernier mot ne se peut lire; néanmoins il n'y peut avoir été que خمسماية, car le Calife *el Mostathher* est mort en 512 ..... Mais voici encore une difficulté historique. Qui est ce *Nasr ed din Lulu*, seigneur de *Mosul* qui a existé dans le commencement du 6. siècle après Mahomet? Lulu denote un esclave ou Mamluke qui s'est fait chef ou prince; mais quoique je connoisse bien un *Lulu*, seigneur de *Mosul* dans le 7. siècle, je n'en connois point dans le sixième." Descript. de l'Arabie, Pref. p. XXVI. Tab. x. p. 86.

GOLD, An. 650. With respect to the place of coinage, from want of precision in fixing the dies, a part of the marginal inscription containing most of the letters that compose the word موصل *Mosul* (or *Mausel* as it is written by Pococke and some other oriental scholars) is deficient. The final character, however, agrees with that in Niebuhr's plate, and in several copper coins of this prince the name is distinct. By a perforation the word دينار *dinâr* is here obliterated.

In the marginal inscription of I. being a passage from *surah* xxx. of the *korân*, which was first introduced by the khalif *Mamûn*, on whose dirhem of 218 it will be found at length, we may notice a variation of orthography (independently of a contraction of the word), the plural of المومن *al-mûmin* being here formed by the syllable ون *ûn* instead of ين, and making المومنون *al-mûmenûn* Fideles.

The workmanship exhibits altogether but a bad sample of the state of the arts under the most accomplished prince of this dynasty.

CLXXXI.

بدر الدين لولو *BEDR-ED-DÎN LÛLÛ.*

COPPER, An. 656.

I. AREA. لولو الملك الرحيم بدر الدنيا و الدين
سلطان الاسلام و المسلمين ابو الـ (فضيل)

Lúlú. Malek er-rahím (rex misericors) *Bedr-ed-duniya wa ed-dín*, sultanus fidei et fidelium, *Abu al-*(*Fadhíl*).

MARGIN. لا اله الا الله وحده . . . . . له و المويه

First symbol. Sequel unintelligible.

II. AREA. منكو قاان اعظم حلاو (خناو) بل عالم
پاد شاه روي زمين (تتر) معظم

Mangú s. *Mankú kâan* maximus . . . . mundi, imperator orbis terræ, Tatar? magnificus.

MARGIN. . . . . بالموصل سنه ست و خمسين

(Cuditur) in *Mosul*, anno (6)56 (1258).

COPPER, AD. 656.

This interesting copper coin, although in complete preservation, is, from ex-centric striking, imperfect in its marginal inscriptions. There are also some words in that of Area II. the reading or sense of which is not satisfactorily ascertained.

The name and titles of the *Atâbeg* prince are here more fully displayed than on his preceding money, and amongst them some that resemble those of the khalifat, together with the title of sultan, which had been affected by the members of the great Ayubite family. His surnames are recorded by Abu'lfeda and Abu'lfaraj.(1) But the most remarkable feature, and what gives importance to the coin, is the name of the Tartar or Moghul emperor, *Mangu-Kâan*, grandson of *Jengiz-khân*, and elder brother of *Kublai-Kâan* and *Hulâgu*.(2) It was precisely at the period when it was struck, that the latter of these princes, who had been sent from Tartary, by the emperor, with the command of a large army, and in the preceding year had crossed the Oxus, was employed in the reduction of *Baghdâd* and extermination of the Abbassite race of khalifs. To this formidable invader, as well as to his imperial master, *Bedr-ed-dîn*, an acute politician, who formed a just estimate of the irresistible power of the Moghuls, found it necessary to pay his court, and in token of respectful submission, to impress his money with the name of that sovereign by whose sufferance he existed.(3) In the succeeding

(1) "Eodem anno (657) è vita discessit Al Malec Al Rahim Badro'ddinus Abul' Phadayel Lulu, Mauselæ dominus." Histor. Dynast. p. 347.

(2) On a Moghul silver coin described by T. C. Tychsen, the name of this most powerful sovereign is written منككا *Muncaca*, of which he supposes *Mangu* to be a contraction. On coins, however, described in the Numophylacium Orientale Pototianum, p. 44, we find it, as on this, منكو قاان *Manku kaan*, which, it is probable, was pronounced *Mangu*, as if written with the Persian گ *gaf*, the mark of distinction between the ک and گ not being then in use. There is reason to believe also that the name of his brother, whether written هولاكو or هولاقو (for both occur) was pronounced *Hulâgu* rather than *Hulâku*. The title of قاان *kâan*, which was first assumed by *Oktai*, at the desire of his father *Jengiz*, is said to signify خان *khân* of *khâns*, although there seems to be no radical connexion between the two words.

(3) "*Bedr-ed-dîn* enim, ut callentissimus erat artium quibus acquiritur et conservatur imperium, officiis blanditiisque suum fecerat Holacuum, submiserat se ipsi, dona miserat, et post subactam Bagdadum in Aderbigana versanti se presens exhibuerat clientem..... Hic ipse paullo postquam a Tataro domum redierat, vitam finiit, gloriosam profecto." Annales, t. IV. p. 567

COPPER, An. 656.

ceeding year he had a personal interview, at *Hamadân*, the capital of Persian Irak, with *Huldgu*, and conciliated his favour by means of large presents. He died soon after his return to *Mosul*, leaving the kingdom to his son *Malek as-Sâlah Ismâil*, who was not long permitted to reign. *Mangu-Kâan* also died about the same time, and was succeeded by *Kublai-Kâan*, the protector of the Polo family.

The parts of the legend in which I chiefly fail to discover a satisfactory meaning, are, in the third line of Area II., between the words اعظم and عالم, where the characters may be read حلاوبل or خناوبل, neither of which appear to be significant; and also in the last line, following زمين, which admit of being read in a variety of modes, according to the application of the diacritical points and the idea formed of the last letter, which may represent *r*, *n*, or *l*. It appears, indeed, to have been an object with the *Atâbeg* to bestow unusual epithets and titles, chiefly Persian, on the heads of this new dynasty.

Castiglioni, in describing a similar coin (n. CXLIV. p. 157), reads ملك و قاان *Il Re e Kaan*, where I confidently read منكو قاان *Mangu* or *Manku Kâan*, as I should do, even from the engraving in his own Plate. He also considers the characters حلاو (uncertain as they are) to be intended for the name of هولاقو *Huldgu*, although there is no other instance, I believe, of that name being written with the hard guttural ـه, or without the first و. Respecting the word in the bottom line of the same Area, which he reads تتر *Tatar*, it must be allowed that the characters warrant it, although not exclusively; but I entertain strong doubts of these Moghul princes having ever been accustomed to designate themselves by the national appellation of *Tatar*, which (like the corresponding term of Scythian) seems not to have been used in a favourable sense, and consequently would not be employed by one who meant to pay his court to them.

ATÂBEGS OF IRAK,

HALEB BRANCH.

		A.H.	A.D.
1. *Imâd-ed-dîn Zengi*	عماد الدين زنگي	521	1127
2. *Malek al-Adel Nûr-ed-dîn Mahmûd ben Zengi*	ملك العادل نور الدين محمود بن زنگي	540	1145
3. *Al-Malek as-Sâlah Ismâil ben Nûr-ed-dîn Mahmûd*	الملك الصالح اسمعيل بن نور الدين محمود	569	1174
4. *Imâd-ed-dîn Zengi ben Kotb-ed-dîn ben Maudûd*	عماد الدين زنگي بن قطب الدين بن مودود	577	1181

In 579 this weak prince delivered *Haleb* (Aleppo) into the hands of *Sâlah-ed-dîn*, for the inadequate consideration of having سنجار *Sinjâra*, which he had before possessed, restored to him, together with some other places of minor importance. Here he reigned until 594.

SINJÂRA BRANCH.

2. *Kotb-ed-dîn Muhammed ben Imâd-ed-dîn Zengi*	قطب الدين محمد بن عماد الدين زنگي	594	1197

His successors held the government only for a few months.

CLXXXII.—CLXXXV.

الملك العادل نور الدين محمود بن زنگي *AL-MALEK AL-ADEL NÛR-ED-DÎN MAHMÛD BEN ZENGI,*

Second Atâbeg *of* Irak *reigning at* Haleb.

I. AREA. *Al-Malek al-Adel.* الملك العادل — COPPER, An. 540-569.

MARGIN. الغز ال ... مر السالم النصر و ال

Not intelligible.

II. AREA.

COPPER, An. 540-569.

II. AREA. محمود بن زنگي

Mahmúd ben Zengi.

MARGIN. ... صه سنة ا

Cud . . . . . anno . . . .

Malek al-Adel Mahmûd, the celebrated prince to whom this coin belongs, is better known in oriental history by the name of *Núr-ed-dîn*, and is the Noradinus of William of Tyre and others who have written on the wars of the crusades. All of them agree in ranking him amongst the most eminent characters of the period at which he lived,(1) and it is a subject of regret that the Collection does not possess better and more ample specimens of his coinage.

In the year 540, according to Abu'lfaraj, or 541, according to Abu'lfeda, he succeeded his father, *Imâd-ed-dîn Zengi*, in his Syrian dominions, of which *Haleb* or Aleppo was the capital, whilst his brother, *Seif-ed-dîn Ghâzi* took possession of *Mosul*. He proved a formidable enemy to the Franks, whose armies he defeated on several occasions, and, in the event, still more so to the Fatimite dynasty of Egypt, whose dominion was subverted by the ambitious projects and intrigues of the famous *Sâlah-ed-dîn*, at that time commanding an army sent by *Núr-ed-dîn* to the assistance of *Adhad*, the last of the khalifs of that race.

Of this obolus there are four specimens, most of which exhibit, distinctly, the names in the Area on both sides, but are imperfect in the marginal inscriptions, where neither the date nor the place can be discovered. The words given above are collected from the different specimens, and arranged according to their position in the circle; yet although in themselves significant, no connected meaning can be assigned to them. It is remarkable that Adler also, who speaks of six specimens preserved in the Borgian Museum, is satisfied with observing generally that

(1) " Eodem quoque tempore (569–1173) .... Noradinus maximus nominis et fidei Christianæ persecutor, princeps tamen justus, vafer et providus, et secundùm gentis suæ traditiones religiosus, regni ejus anno vicesimo nono, mense Maio defunctus est." Gesta Dei per Francos, T. II. p. 995.

that, "Quæ in circumferentia scripta erant, detrita sunt." Vid. Tab. v. n. XLIII. et p. 70. In the Nanian Museum likewise, Assemani notices one in a manner equally unsatisfactory. Vid. Tab. VII. n. LXXXV. et p. XCVI. COPPER, An. 540-569.

The ornaments have the appearance of spear-heads, trefoil, or fleurs-de-lis.

CLXXXVI.—CLXXXIX.

الملك الصالح اسمعيل بن نور الدين محمود *AL-MALEK AS-SÂLAH ISMÀÎL BEN NÛR-ED-DÎN MAHMÛD,*

Third Atâbeg *of* Haleb.

I. AREA. Caput Constantii filii Constantini magni. COPPER, An. 571.

MARGIN. ضرب بحلب سنه احد و سبعين و خمس . . .

Cuditur in *Haleb* (Aleppo) anno 571 (1175).

II. AREA. المستضي بامر (الله) امير المومنين
الملك الصالح اسمعيل

Al-Mostadhi beamr-illah imperator Fidelium. *Al-Malek as-Sâlah Ismàîl.*

The coins of *Sâlah Ismàîl* are neater in point of execution and more circumstantial in their inscription, as well as more frequently met with (although mostly of one year) than those of his celebrated father. The figure they exhibit has been shewn by M. Barthélemy (Mem. de l'Acad. t. XXVI. p. 564) to have been imitated from the medals of Constantius, son of Constantine the Great, which seems to have been selected on account of its youthful appearance. The learned Abbé, however, has mistaken the name of the khalif, which, instead of *Al-Mostadhi beamr-illah* (as it is clearly expressed on the coin, and who reigned from 566 to 575) he writes *El-Mostanser-bamr-illah*, a name not belonging to any of

COPPER, An. 571. the khalifs, but evidently meant for *Al-Mostanser-billah*, whose reign did not begin till the year 623, and who, therefore, was not a cotemporary of *Sâlah Ismâîl*.

The succession of this young prince, whose age was only eleven years, to the dominions of his father, received the sanction of *Sâlah-ed-dîn*,(1) who afterwards, however, made large encroachments on them; not ranking justice and gratitude, as the Abbé observes, amongst the virtues essential to a great monarch.

The characters are distinct, and of the pure Cufic form. The die appears to have been intended for a piece of metal of a larger surface, and as the small size of this did not admit of the whole inscription being taken in, it is only from a comparison of several specimens (of which there are four in the Collection) that it can be completed. The word الله, forming part of بامر الله, stands at the top of the Area, but is in most instances obliterated.

Besides the engraving from the specimen in the cabinet of the king of France, there is one, rudely executed, in Assemani's Mus. Cuf. Nanianum, n. LXXXVII.

CXC.

الملك الصالح اسمعيل بن محمود *AL-MALEK AS-SÂLAH ISMÀÎL BEN MAHMÛD.*

COPPER, An. 569-577.

I. AREA. *Al-Malek as-Sâlah.* الملك الصالح

MARGIN. ضرب ..... سنه

Cuditur ..... anno.

II. AREA.

(1) "Mortuo (Nuro'ddino) in regno successit filius ipsius *Al-Malec Al-Saleh Ismaël*, annos undecim natus: cui obsequium præstiterunt homines in Syria, et *Salaho'ddin* in Ægypto, ubi et pro eo in suggestis oratum, et nomine ejus cusa moneta." Hist. Dynast. p. 267.

II. Area. اسمعيل بن محمود — Copper, An. 569-577.
Ismàîl ben Mahmúd.

Margin. عمد السأل
Illegible.

In this coin the proper name of the prince, together with his patronymic, are found by reading the inscriptions on the two Areas consecutively. In the Margin of I. appear only the words ضرب at the usual place of commencement, and سنة "anno" at the concluding part, which seems to imply that the date was carried on to the other side, but the imperfect characters there discernible do not express it, nor the place of coinage. On a specimen in most respects similar, belonging to the Borgian Collection (n. XLV. p. 71) Adler reads on one side, ضرب حلب ..... سبعين و خمه .... سنة and on the other (not consistently as regards the repetition of characters) خمسمايه Cusus Aleppi, anno DLXX. For the units, however, a blank space is left, as being illegible.

CXCI.

الملك الصالح اسمعيل *AL-MALEK AS-SÂLAH ISMÀÎL.*

I. Area. *Al-Malek as-Sâlah Ismàîl.* الملك الصالح اسمعيل — Copper, An. 569 -577.

Margin. Obliterated. .... م القمر؟

II. Area. ابن الملك العادل محمود
Ibn Al-Malek al-Adel Mahmúd.

Margin. .... بكرة ..... الفلس .....
..... obolus .... in *Karah* ...

The legend of this obolus differs from the former in being rather more circumstantial. The title of *Al-Malek al-Adel* (rex justus) is prefixed to

COPPER, An. 569-577. the name of the father of the reigning prince; the denomination of the coin appears in the Margin of II; and there also we perceive characters that denote the place of coinage, which, although written كرد *Karah*, may probably be intended for كرك *Krak* or *Karak*, a town on the borders of Syria and the Arabian desert, well known in the histories of the Crusades by the names of *Crach* and *Caraka*. In this case the money must have been struck before that strong place came into the possession of the Franks, who lost it in consequence of the fatal issue of of the battle of Tiberias in 583-1187.

CXCII.

الملك الصالح اسمعيل *AL-MALEK AS-SÂLAH ISMÀÎL.*

COPPER, An. 570-577.

I. AREA. الملك الصالح اسمعيل
Al-Malek as-Sálah Ismàîl.

MARGIN. Not legible.

II. AREA. الملك الناصر يوسف
Al Malek al-Náser Yúsuf.

MARGIN. Not legible.

We here find, in addition to the name of the reigning prince, that of *Malek al-Náser Yúsuf*, belonging to Sultan *Sálah-ed-dín*, who, about the end of 570, according to Abu'lfeda, after reducing the cities that were under the dominion of *Nûr-ed-dín* his late master, presented himself before Aleppo, and, in the style of a conqueror, ordered that his name should be impressed on the money of that capital.(1)

It

(1) "Anno septuagesimo primo *Salaho'ddin* castellum *Azaz* occupavit, et Halebum adiit, in quo erat *Al-Malec Al Saleh*. Populo autem unanimi consensu urbi defendendæ incumbente, intercesserunt inter eos de pacis conditionibus nuntii, quibus ex utraque parte assensum est: et *Salaho'ddinus* reddito *Al Malec Al Saleho* castello *Azaz*, Halebo recessit." Hist. Dynast. p. 268. It is probable that at this period, or soon after, the coin was struck.

It will be observed that half of the letters forming the name of يوسف *Yûsuf* are placed at the top of the Area, and the other half at bottom. The marginal inscriptions are obscure, and although several characters remain, they are insufficient to enable me to read either the date or name of the city. The occasional use of diacritical points may be observed. COPPER, An. 570-577.

CXCIII.

الملك الصالح اسمعيل *AL-MALEK AS-SÂLAH ISMÀÎL.*

COPPER, An. 575-577.

I. AREA. *Al-Malek as-Sâlah.* الملك الصالح

MARGIN. ..... العماد .....

II. AREA. الناصر امير المومنين

Al-Nâser imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN. Obliterated.

On this obolus and some others the proper name of اسمعيل *Ismâîl* is omitted in the Area; but of the identity there can be little doubt, as there is a general resemblance of the dies. Although the date is obliterated, the commencement of the khalifat of *Al-Nâser* in 575, and the death of the young sultan, *As-Sâlah*, in 577, affords a near approximation. The word العماد appearing in the Margin of II. may be thought to apply to the minister who exercised the function of government, and who was not uncommonly styled the "*pillar* of the state." His name was *Shems-ed-dîn Muhammed.*

CXCIV.

CXCIV.

الملك الصالح اسمايل *AL-MALEK AS-SÂLAH ISMÀÎL.*

COPPER, An. 567-589.

I. AREA. *Al-Malek as-Sâlah.* الملك الصالح

II. AREA. Cuditur in *Hamâh.* ضرب بحماه

This is remarkable only for the place of coinage, which was the Apamea of the ancients, by the Arabians called *Hamâh* and *Hamât*, situated on the Orontes, between Aleppo and Damascus.(1)

CXCV. CXCVI.

قطب الدين محمد بن زنكي بن مودود *KOTB-ED-DÎN MUHAMMED BEN ZENGI BEN MAUDÛD.*

COPPER, An. 594-616.

I. AREA. Effigies lateralis principis, capite nudo, manu globum, super humerum clavam gerentis.

SIDES. ضرب ..... تسعين و خمسمايه

Cuditur...59(6)-1199.

II. AREA.

(1) Abu'lfeda goes into more than usual detail in his account of this city, which constituted a part of his own territorial possessions. He begins with saying: "Jam Davidis et Salomonis ætate urbs erat magni nominis. Ejus enim honorifica mentio fit in illis viginti quatuor libris, quos Judæi manibus versant, et pro sacris venerantur." After describing its vicissitudes of fortune from that period, he thus proceeds: "Ab hoc transibat Hamata ad ejus filium, Nur-ed-dinum, ab hoc ad hujus, Malec es-Salehum Ismaëlem. Inde nactus eam Salah ed-din Jusuf, Eiubi filius, donabat avunculo suo:" and, lastly, adds, "Tandem pervenit Hamata ad hujus libri auctorem, Ismaëlem, filium Alii &c. filii Eiubi (s. Ayubi);" which shews that the father of *Salah-ed-din* was also *his* ancestor. Vid. Annales Muslem. t. v. p. 235-239.

II. AREA. الامام الناصر لدين‌الله الملك المظفر قطب الدنيا.ال

COPPER, An. 594-616.

Imám Al-Náser ledín-illah, Al-Malek Al-Modhaffer Kotb-ed-duniya . ed- . .

SIDES. محمد بن زنكي .... دود

Muhammed ben Zengí (ben Mau)dúd.

Respecting the prince by whom this coin was struck, or even the dynasty to which it belonged, I felt much uncertainty whilst my examination was confined to the one specimen from which the engraving has been made, and I had placed it amongst those of the Ortokites, to which it bore a general analogy; but upon discovering a second (although in worse preservation), I perceived, in the lateral inscriptions, the words بن زنكي *ben Zengi*, distinctly, and also the latter syllable of the name of مودود *Maudúd*, faintly; which determined it to be a coin of the *Atábeg* or *Zengi* race. I found likewise the century and decimal of the date, but not the units. To which of the Atâbeg princes the name or epithet of *Modhaffer* (if such be the true reading) along with the certain name of *Kotb-ed-dîn*, applied, I profess myself ignorant. Opposite to the profile of the face there is a peculiar and conspicuous character resembling a ɔc, or double inverted c, that may be symbolic, but probably existed on the Greek money from which the design was borrowed.

In the Monete Cufiche we find a similar coin, n°. CXLV., referred to a branch of the family termed the *Zengís* of *Senjar*, and bearing the date of 596; but where the learned author, in the marginal inscription of I., reads سنجار *Senjar* or *Sinjár*, as the name of the place, my specimen presents clearly the word ضرب cuditur; nor have the characters in his engraving any resemblance to the former. On the other hand, instead of مظفر *Modhaffer*, in the Area, he reads منصور *Mansúr*, and as the best of my two specimens is much abraded in that part, he may probably be right. This name, however, does not appear in the short list furnished by De Guignes (T. I. P. I. p. 258), where we find that *Kotb-ed-dín Muhammed* reigned from the year 594–1197 to 616–1219.

AGHLABITE.

AGHLABITE DYNASTY, OF AFRICA PROPER.

In describing the coinage of the dynasties established in different provinces and at different periods, during the decline of the mussulman empire, it is difficult, if not impossible to adhere to a chronological series, and at the same time, to preserve an historical connexion of the events to which they owed their origin. After noticing the Samanian, Seljuk, Ortokite, and Atabeg governments, we should be led, in the next place, to the Ayubite, with whose Syrian politics (as distinguished from the Egyptian) the transactions of the two latter are so much blended. But as the government of the Fatimites in Egypt preceded and was overturned by the Ayubites, it becomes necessary that what relates to the coinage of the former should be previously considered, and, upon the same principle, that the dynasty of Aghlabites, who were settled in that part of Africa which joins on Egypt, and who were the precursors of the Fatimites, should take precedence of these also in the following descriptions.

The founder of this dynasty, who was named *Ibrahîm ben Aghlab*, belonged to a family that had settled in *Afrikîah* or Africa proper under the auspices of the *Ommiah* khalifs, and was appointed governor of that province by the Abassite khalif, *Harún al-Rashíd*. His obedience, however, from the first, was little more than nominal, and in the year 184–800 (according to De Guignes) he openly asserted his independence, which he maintained until his death in 196. The capital of the province was *Kairawán* قيروان, by some learned men erroneously supposed the Cyrene of the Greeks.(1)

(1) " Ce nom de Cairvan " says D'Herbelot, " a été donné aussi en particulier à une ville que les anciens ont appellée Cyrene, et à une province qui porte le nom de Cyrenaïque." Biblioth. Orient. Chenier on the contrary, places it in the kingdom of Tunis, and says: " On ne doit pas confondre cette ville *(Kairoan)* avec l'ancienne *Cyrene*, elle en est même assez eloignée." T. I. p. 221.

AGHLABITE PRINCES OF *KAIRAWÂN*.

		A.H.	A.D.
1. *Ibrâhîm ben Aghlab*	ابراهيم بن اغلب	184	800
2. *Abû'l Abbâs Abd-allah ben Ibrâhîm*	ابو العباس عبد الله بن ابراهيم	197	813
3. *Abû Muhammed Ziâdat-allah ben Ibrâhîm*	ابو محمد زيادة الله بن ابراهيم	201	816
4. *Abû Akâl al-Aghlab ben Ibrâhîm*	ابو عقال الاغلب بن ابراهيم	223	838
5. *Abû'l Abbâs Muhammed ben Aghlab*	ابو العباس محمد بن الاغلب	226	841
6. *Abû Ibrâhîm Ahmed ben Muhammed*	ابو ابراهيم احمد بن محمد بن ابراهيم	242	856
7. *Abû Muhammed Ziâdat-allah ben Muhammed*	ابو محمد زيادة الله بن محمد	250	864
8. *Abû Abd-allah Muhammed ben Ahmed*	ابو عبد الله محمد بن احمد بن محمد	251	865
9. *Abû Ishak Ibrâhîm ben Ahmed*	ابو اسحاق ابراهيم بن احمد بن محمد By this prince Syracuse was taken from the Franks, in 264–877.	261	874
10. *Abû'l Abbâs Abd-allah ben Ibrâhîm*	ابو العباس عبد الله بن ابراهيم	289	902
11. *Abû Nasr Ziâdat-allah ben Abd-allah*	ابو نصر زيادة الله بن عبد الله	290	902

This

p. 221. To this latter may be added the authority of Gibbon. "In its present decay," says that discriminating investigator, "Cairoan still holds the second rank in the kingdom of Tunis, from which it is distant about fifty miles to the south." In a note he observes that, "a *portentous*, though frequent mistake, has been the confounding, from a slight similitude of name, the Cyrene of the Greeks, and the Cairoan of the Arabs, two cities which are separated by an interval of a thousand miles along the sea-coast. The great Thuanus has not escaped this fault." T. v. p. 358. Our ignorance of the modern state of the *Pentapolis* will soon be removed, and we may also expect to learn, from the scientific labours of the Mission appointed to examine it, the true situation of many celebrated Arabian cities. In the mean time the excellent geographical Notes to the translation of Alfraganus by Golius, may be consulted with advantage, and there it will be found that '*Kairevân*,' the metropolis of Africa proper, was distant 33 parasangs from Carthage, and 12 from the sea.

This weak and vicious prince was the last of the Aghlabite race. An adventurer of the *Shîàh* sect, named *Abu Muhammed Obeidallah*, invaded his dominions, and after an ineffectual struggle, forced him to abandon his capital, and take refuge, first in Egypt, then at Edessa, and afterwards at *Ramlah*, where he died miserably in the year 296-908.(1) *Obeidallah*, after defeating the Edrisites of western Africa and adding their territory to that of the Aghlabites, became the founder of the celebrated dynasty of the Fatimites.

CXCVII. CXCVIII.

ابو محمد زيادة الله بن ابراهيم *ABU MUHAMMED ZIÂDAT-ALLAH,*

Third prince of the Aghlabite race, بني اغلب, *in Africa.*

GOLD, An. 211.

I. AREA. First symbol. مسرور *Mesrûr.*

MARGIN. Second symbol abbreviated.

II. AREA. علي محمد رسول الله زيادة الله

Ali. Muhammed (est) legatus Dei. *Ziâdat-allah.*

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر سنه
احدي عشرة ومايتين

In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius anno 211 (826).

(2 dw. 17½ gr.)

This

(1) There are some discrepancies between the genealogy of these Aghlabite princes as given by Abu'lfeda and by Ibn Al-Katib in a manuscript extracted by Casiri (Biblioth. Arab. Hispan. T. II. p. 191); but they are not of importance. The former appears to be in general the more consistent. There is indeed a striking instance of inaccuracy in the latter historian, where he says: "In patris locum suffectus filius Abullabas Abdalla, imperante Calipha Almotasemo." But the Aghlabite's short reign was in 289 and 290, and that khalif's between 218 and 227. He (or perhaps his translator) should have said *Al-Motadhed*, who died in 289, and was succeeded by *Al-Moktafi*.

GOLD, An. 211.

This early African dinar very nearly resembles those of the same period coined at Baghdâd by the khalif *Al-Mamûn*, in the dotted style of character, and like them, does not express the name of the place; but the seat of government of the Aghlabite princes is known to have been at *Kairawân*, the chief city of Africa proper at that time. The similarity, indeed, is so striking as to warrant the supposition of the dies having been executed at Baghdâd, and through the favour or connivance of the khalif, furnished to *Ziadat-allah*. The latter, it is true, appears from the inscription to have been of the sect of *Ali*, for the words علي زيادة الله *Ali Ziâdat-allah*, "Ali est amplificatio Dei," at the same time that they express the name of the prince, convey an evident assertion of the divine quality of the person who was the peculiar object of their religious veneration; and it might be objected that no friendly communication could take place between him and the Abbassite, the ostensible head of the orthodox faith. But this will not have weight, when it is recollected that *Al-Mamûn*, however contrary to his own interests and those of his dynasty, was attached to the principles and the race of the Ali-ites, and encouraged them as far as his apprehension of popular commotion would allow.(1)

To whom the name of مسرور *Mesrûr* belonged is not known. The most probable conjecture is, that he was the first minister of the Aghlabite. The same name appears on a silver coin of this prince, of the year 209, described by Adler,(2) who supposes the name of علي *Ali*, at the top

(1) "Anno 201 effecit Almamon ut Alis f. Musæ, f. Gjafaris &c. Socius fœderis ejus crearetur, et futurus post ipsum Chalifa reciperetur." Elmacini Saracen. hist. p. 169. "Simul imperabat legatis et castris, tam prope quam procul positis, mandatis quaquaversum dimissis, ut, pullis positis, virides in posterum vestes gestarent. (Est enim viridis color genti Alidarum adamatus, ut niger Abbasidis fuit)." Abu'lfedæ Annales, T. II. p. 113. The belief of a political connexion between the khalif and the African sectarian is more particularly warranted by the following passage extracted by Casiri from an Arabian author: "Rerum potitus est ejus frater *Zaiadat Alla*, rex verè inclytus, qui postquam sacramentum Caliphæ *Almamuno*, inde *Abrahamo ben Almahdi ben Schaklat* dixisset, diem obiit anno Egiræ 223." By "sacramentum dicere" is meant, "to pray for in the liturgy," or, to read the *khotba* in his name.

(2) "Unicum, qui nobis innotuit, Aglabitarum numum servat ut gemmam Museum Borgianum, quem nunc illustrare tentabimus ..... Inter secundam et tertiam lineam inserta legitur vox مسرور (h.e. lætum, hilare) quæ quid sibi velit ignoro." Adler, Collectio nova, p. 130.

GOLD, An. 211. top of Area II., to be that of an officer of state, rather than the son-in-law of the Prophet.

Another dinar in every respect the same, excepting the date, is of the year 212.

CXCIX.

ابو العباس محمد بن اغلب *ABU AL-ABBÂS MUHAMMED BEN AGHLAB,*

Fifth Aghlabite prince.

GOLD, An. 236.

I. AREA. First symbol.

MARGIN. Second symbol abbreviated.

II. AREA. علي محمد رسول الله محمد

Ali. Muhammed est legatus Dei. *Muhammed.*

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر سنه
ست وثلثين ومايتين

In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius, anno 236 (850). (2 dw. 17½ gr.)

On this dinar we find the place where the name of *Ziâdat-allah* stood on the former, occupied by that of *Muhammed*, having been coined in the reign of *Abu'l Abbâs Muhammed*, the son of *Abu Akâl al-Aghlab*, which began in 226 and ended in 242. The name of *Mesrûr*, supposed to be the vizir or minister, no longer appears; nor is any other substituted. The characters of the inscriptions are, as on the coins last described, composed of points or dotted lines. In weight, the three dinars do not differ from each other more than the quarter of a grain.

CC.

ابو العباس عبد الله بن ابراهيم *ABU AL-ABBÂS ABD-ALLAH BEN IBRÂHIM,*

Tenth Aghlabite prince?

GOLD, quartarium An. 289-290.

I. AREA. First symbol. سعيد *Sàid.*

MARGIN. Second symbol, imperfect.

II. AREA. .... عبد .... محمد رسول الله

Muhammed est legatus Dei. (*Abu'l Abbâs Abd-allah*).

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الـ .....

In nomine Dei cuditur hoc (quartarium) . . (0 dw. 16½ gr.)

The general appearance of this small gold coin shews it to be Aghlabite, although it might be difficult to prove it such, from the imperfection and obscurity of the legend. Under the khalifs of the race of *Ommiah* (an. 103) we had occasion to notice one, which, being equal in weight to the third part of a dinar, was on the coin itself, denominated a ثلث or tertiarium. This, however, and others that follow, are in weight no more than the fourth part, and the name of quartarium may therefore be applied to them. The word that should express the denomination is here cut off, but we shall see hereafter that the name of *dinar* is vaguely given to the fractional part of the coin properly so called.

In the Area we find the name of سعيد *Sàid,* which we may suppose to belong to the vizir or minister, replacing that of مسرور *Mesrûr* noticed on two of the preceding dinars. The name of the prince is far from being equally distinct, and although the characters are not much defaced, their form is so ambiguous that I can read few of them with confidence beyond the syllable عبد *âbd.* This we may presume to be part of the name of *Abd-allah,* which was borne by three of the Aghlabite princes, and the coin to have belonged to *Abu'l Abbâs Abd-allah ben Ibrahîm,* the tenth or last but one of the series, who reigned in the years 289 and 290. From its small surface and not being perfectly round, the marginal inscriptions fail, and the date is in consequence unknown.

FATIMITE

FATIMITE DYNASTY OF AFRICA AND EGYPT.

THE dynasty of the Fatimites was established upon the ruin of the Aghlabite and Edrisite governments, in the person of ابو محمد عبيدالله *Abú Muhammed Obeidallah.* Boasting of a descent, real or pretended, from علي *Ali* and فاطمه *Fâtimah* the daughter of the Prophet, as well as of a divine mission, he (or, as it is said by some, his son) assumed the title of مهدي *Mahdi,* or the spiritual Guide supposed to have been foretold in the *korân,*(1) and afterwards that of Commander of the Faithful, equivalent, in a political sense, to the title of khalif.

The place at which he first established a party and became conspicuous, was سجلماسه *Sejelmâsah,* an inland city of western Africa, from whence, with a numerous train of enthusiasts, he proceeded to the conquest, first of the provinces ruled by the Aghlabite, and subsequently (although lying to the westward of the former) of those belonging to the Edrisite princes. He then founded a new city near the sea-coast, on the site of the ancient Aphrodisum, not far from *Kairawân,* which, from his own title, he named مهديه *Mahdîah* or *Mahadîah.* Being undisputed master of the whole of Northern Africa, as well as of Sicily, he was induced, about the year 300, to make an attempt to gain possession of Egypt. Failing, however, in this, he turned his mind to the arts of peace, and after a tranquil reign, died in 322, leaving his ample dominions to his son.(2)

FATIMITE

(1) "*Mahadi* ou *Mehedi*: directeur et pontife dans la religion Mosulmane. C'est le surnom par excellence du douzième et dernier *Imam* de la race d'*Ali* .... Il naquit à *Sermenrai* l'an 255 de l'hegire, et fut enfermé à l'âge de neuf ans dans un cave ou cisterne par sa mere qui le garde soigneusement jusques à ce qu'il doive paroistre à la fin du monde .... Le *Mahadi* d'Afrique duquel il sera parlé plus bas, prétendoit être cet *Imam*, et que le temps de sa découverte étoit arrivé." D'Herbelot.

(2) According to some at least of the Arabian writers, *Obeidallah* was not, in fact, the first promoter of this schism and revolution, but a man named *Abu Abd-allah* of the sect of *Shîâhs*, an ambitious and turbulent fanatic, whom the former, his

FATIMITE KHALIFS.

	A.H.	A.D.
1. *Abû Muhammed Obeidallah Mahdi* ابو محمد عبيدالله مهدي	296	908
2. *Al-Kaîm beamr-illah Abu al-Kasam Muhammed ben Obeidallah* القايم بامرالله ابو القسم محمد بن عبيدالله	322	933
3. *Al-Mansûr-billah Abu al-Taher Ismàîl ben al-Kaîm* المنصور بالله ابو الطاهر اسمعيل بن القايم	334	945
4. *Al-Mòazz ledîn-illah Abi Tamîm Mòadd ben Al-Mansûr* المعز لدين الله ابي تميم معد بن المنصور	341	952
5. *Al-Azîz-billah Abu Mansûr Nazâr ben Moadd* العزيز بالله ابو منصور نزار بن معد	365	975
6. *Al-Hâkam beamr-illah Abu Ali Mansûr ben Al-Azîz* الحاكم بامر الله ابو علي منصور بن العزيز	386	996
7. *Al-Dhâher liizâz dîn-allah Abu'l Hasan Ali ben Al-Hâkam* الظاهر لاعزاز دين الله ابو الحسن علي بن الحاكم	411	1020
8. *Al-Mostanser-billah Abu Tamîm Mòadd ben Dhâher* المستنصر بالله ابو تميم معد بن ظاهر	427	1035
9. *Al-Mostàla-billah Abu'l-Kâsam Ahmed ben Mostanser* المستعلي بالله ابو القاسم احمد بن مستنصر	487	1094
		10. *Al-*

his associate for a time, afterwards put to death. Abu'lfeda says: "Invalescebat enim *Abu Abdalla* Schiita .... et prima ponebat fundamenta celeberrimi regni Fatemidarum." T. II. p. 305; and again: "Qui primus hujus gentis regnavit, est *Abu Muhammed Obaïdalla*, filius Muhammedis, &c." p. 309. So also Al-Katib: "Prodiit in Africa, ex gente *Kotama* dicta, quæ montes habitat, vir factiosus, nomine *Abu Abdalla*, &c. Hic ille omnium primus, ac veluti antecursor, Pontificiæ dignitatis fundamenta jecit: quam posteà *Obaidalla* socio cedendam existimavit. Is quum res sibi prosperè accidissent, *Abu Abdallam* pontificem interfecit." Casiri, Bibl. Arab. Hisp. T. II. p. 193.

A gold coin of this prince struck at *Sejelmâsah* in the year 304-916, has been described by Gagnier (Abulf. Arabia, p. 65.) with an engraving, and reprinted by Wise (Catal. numm. p. 311); but the reading by the learned orientalist does not appear to be in all parts correct, and particularly in the word which he writes الموتمن 'securus in Deo,' but which seems clearly to be المنصور *Al-Mansûr*, victor. The words that express the date are by no means distinct in the engraving. If 304, however, be correct, the coin must have belonged to *Obeidallah*, the father, as *Al-Kaim* did not ascend the throne until the year 322.

	A.H.	A.D.
10. *Al-Âmer bedhkâm-allâh Abu Ali Al-Mansûr ben Mostâla* الامر باحكام الله ابو علي المنصور بن مستعلي	495	1101
11. *Al-Hafedh ledîn-illah Abd-al-Majîd ben Abu al-Kâsam* الحافظ لدين الله عبد المجيد بن القاسم	524	1129
12. *Al-Dhâfer beamr-illah Ismâîl ben Al-Hafedh* الظافر بامر الله اسمعيل بن الحافظ	544	1149
13. *Al-Fâiz be-nasr-allah Abu'l Kâsam Isa ben Al-Dhâfer* الفايز بنصر الله ابو القاسم عسي بن الظافر	549	1154
14. *Al-Adhad ledîn-illah Abu Muhammed Abd-allah ben al-Amîr Yûsuf ben Al-Hafedh* العاضد لدين الله ابو محمد عبدالله بن الامير يوسف بن الحافظ	557	1160

CCI.

المنصور بالله ابو الطاهر اسمعيل بن القايم *AL-MANSÛR BILLAH ABU AL-TAHER ISMÂÎL BEN AL-KAÎM,*

Third Fatimite khalif of Africa.

Gold, quartarium An. 340?

I. Area. لااله الاالله محمد رسول الله علي ولي الله

Non est deus nisi Deus. Muhammed est legatus Dei. Ali est amicus Dei.

Margin. Second symbol abbreviated and imperfect.

II. Area. المنصور بالله الامام امير المومنـ

Al-Mansûr-billah, imâm, princeps Fidelium.

Margin. ... ضرب هذا الـ..نا ر بالمنصوريه .....

..... cuditur hoc (quartarium) in *Mansuríah* .... (15 grs.)

Of this denomination of gold coin, the Fourth part of a dinar, a specimen has already presented itself amongst those of the Aghlabite princes. Under

Under this dynasty of the Fatimites we shall find them not uncommon, in consequence, probably, of the extreme rarity of silver coinage in Africa and Egypt; gold, and not silver, being the produce of that part of the world.

GOLD, quartarium An. 340?

This specimen is in a perfect state of preservation, but from the confined surface and defect of precision in striking, the marginal inscriptions are incomplete, and the date does not appear. A near approximation to it may, however, be made, as the reign of *Al-Mansûr* began in 334 and ended in 341; and as the new city of *Mansurîah*, which he built and called after his own name,(1) was not likely to have been completed until the latter part of his short reign, there cannot be much error in considering the year 340 as that of the coinage.

Some parts of the inscription are indistinct, from the imperfect formation of the characters, particularly those which, in the margin of II., precede the name of the place. In the areas also, the word رسول, on the one side, and بالله on the other, present letters that cannot easily be reconciled to any known form. From the terminating letters نار of the word دينار *dinâr* it is seen that its modern orthography had then begun to prevail; superseding that of دينر *dinar*, as we find it on all the earlier coins. It appears that the change of مايه for مية "hundred" took place in the same century.

The

(1) The exact situation of *Mansurîah* has not been described, but it is said to have been in that part of Mauritania which now forms the eastern province of the kingdom of Algiers, and it may be observed that Shaw (Travels in Barbary &c. p. 91) calls by that name a river which he supposes to be the Sisaris of Ptolemy. Some of our best informed writers have strangely confounded this city with *Mansûrah* on the eastern branch of the Nile, well known from the unfortunate expedition of Louis the IXth. See O. G. Tychsen, Introd. p. 35, and Adler, Collect. nov. p. 146, both of whom speak of *Mansurîah* as a city of Egypt. To that remote part of the Delta, however, the arms of *Al-Mansûr* certainly did not penetrate, nor does it appear that he had any footing in Egypt, which at that time was vigorously governed by an Ethiopian named *Kafûr al-Akhshidi*, of whom Abu'lfeda says: "Regno solus eo tempore (355) gavisus Cafur, et per sacras ædes Meccæ, quin totius Hegazæ, Syriæ et Ægypti, dominus agnitus piisque votis salutatus fuit." T. II. p. 491. The mistake may evidently be traced to the Bibliothèque Orientale, where we read: "*Mansourah*, ville d'Egypte, que nous avons déja vû avoir été bâtie par *Al-Mansor Billah*, troisième khalife des Fathimites, qui lui donna son nom. Elle est située sur le Nil, &c." The high authority of D'Herbelot has been too implicitly followed.

GOLD, quartarium An. 340? The religious sentence or profession of faith here set forth, consisting of what has been already termed the Third or contracted symbol, with the addition of the words علي ولي الله "*Ali* est amicus Dei," may, for the purpose of saving repetitions, be distinguished hereafter as the *Shîàh* or Fatimite symbol.(2)

CCII. CCIII.

المعز لدين الله ابو تميم معد *AL-MÒAZZ LEDÎN-ILLAH ABU TAMÎM MÒADD,*

Fourth Fatimite khalif, and First of Egypt.

GOLD, An. 347.

I. INNER CIRCLE. لااله الا الله محمد رسول الله

Non est deus nisi Deus, Muhammed est legatus Dei,

MIDDLE CIRCLE. و علي افضل الوصيين ووزير خير المرسلين

Et Ali præstantissimus hæredum et vicarius optimi legatorum s. apostolorum.

MARGIN. Second symbol.

II. INNER CIRCLE. المعز لدين الله امير المومنين

Al-Mòazz ledín-illah imperator Fidelium.

MIDDLE CIRCLE. دعا الامام معد لتوحيد الاله الصمد

Exhortatio antistis (*imám*) *Mòadd* ad unitatem Dei æterni.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر بالمنصوريه

سنه سبع واربعين وثلث مايه

In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius in *Mansuríah*, anno 347 (958). (2 dw. 15 gr. 2 dw. 14 gr.)

The

(2) "Seculo quarto post Mohammedem cœperunt Mohammedani distingui in Schiitas, qui Ali habent pro legitimo Mohammedis successore, et Sonnitas, qui Abubecrum. Factiones hæ magis politicæ

GOLD, An. 347.

The coins of the Fatimite khalifs differ materially, both in their general appearance and their legends, from those of the Abbassite dynasty of *Baghdâd*, or eastern khalifs, as they are frequently termed. In this dinar, as well as in several others, there is no Area, the whole of the inscriptions on each side being contained in a triple range of concentric circles, with a point in the middle.

The inner or smallest circle of I. is occupied with what I have termed the Third symbol, which became, in latter times, the most general profession of faith; but it must here be considered as the first part of a sentence continued in the middle circle; as shewn by the copulative و et, preceding the name and attributes of *Ali*, the political as well as the religious patron of this sect.(1)

The inner circle on the opposite side contains the titles of the reigning khalif, *Al-Mòazz ledîn-illah*, who succeeded his father *Al-Mansûr* in the year 341, and afterwards added Egypt to the dominions he inherited in Africa. In the middle circle his proper name of *Mòadd* is introduced in an extraordinary manner, as exhorting mankind (or that portion of them who could read the inscription) to a belief in the unity and eternity of the

politicæ sunt quam theologicæ." Relandus de Religione Mohamm. p. 36. As the title of *Imâm* is particularly (though not exclusively) in use amongst the Fatimites and others of the *Shiàh* sect, I shall here give M. Rousseau's definition of the term, from his work intitled, Mémoire sur les Ismaélis et les Nosairis de Syrie: "Ce mot pris dans son acception primitive désigne le ministere qui, dans les mosquées, entonne le premier les prières, et les récite à la tête du peuple assemblé; mais les *Schias* l'ont appliqué particulièrement à ceux des descendans d'Ali qu'ils regardent comme les légitimes héritiers de toute l'autorité spirituelle et civile qui leur a été transmise par Ali. Ces *Imams* sont au nombre de douze." P. 3.

(1) Makrizi reads first the *inner* circle, then the *marginal* circle, and lastly the *middle* circle containing the name &c. of *Ali*; but this seems not to be warranted either by the order of the lines or the connexion of the sense. The probability, à priori, of his being wrong is shewn by this: that, in order to make the first connect, or form one sentence with the second, he omits the repetition of the words, "Muhammed est legatus Dei," with which, in the inscriptions on the coin, the one ends and the other commences. Vid. Al-Makrizi, Hist. Monetæ Arab. versa ab O. G. Tychsen, p. 112. Some doubts have been expressed by this and other Commentators respecting the words ووزير et vicarius (vicegerent); but they are distinct on three specimens in the Collection, and the passage is thus rendered by M. S. de Sacy, the more accurate translator of Makrizi: "Ali est le plus excellent de tous les successeurs, et le *visir* du meilleur de tous les envoyés." Traité des Monnoies Musulm. p. 41. The word which my learned friend has translated "successeurs," strictly means those who inherit under a testamentary act, namely that of the Prophet.

Gold, An. 347. the Godhead. His reign forms a celebrated epoch in Mahometan history, and from him the coins of his dynasty acquired the appellation of *Mòazzîn*.(2)

The place of coinage was the city of *Mansurîah* founded by his predecessor. Another dinar coined at the same place and resembling the above in every respect, is dated in the year 360 (970).

CCIV. CCV.

المعز لدين الله ابو تميم معد *AL-MÒAZZ LEDÎN-ILLAH ABU TAMÎM MÒADD.*

Gold, An. 363.

I. Inner, Middle, and Marginal circles, as in dinar of 347.

II. Inner and Middle circles, as in ditto.

Margin. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر بمصر
سنه ثلث و ستين و ثلث مايه

In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius in *Misr* (*Kâhirah*) anno 363 (973). (2 dw. 17 gr. 2 dw. 14¼ gr.)

This dinar of the year 363 is the first (in the Collection) of the Fatimite coins struck in the capital of Egypt; to which the following events gave occasion. The khalif *Al-Moazz*, the seat of whose government was *Mansurîah* in Africa proper, taking advantage of the state of weakness in which the former country was left, when, on the death of its powerful Ethiopian ruler, an infant (the grandson of *Kafûr's* master) was the

(2) The text of Makrizi would lead us to suppose that the dinars of this description were not coined before the conquest of Egypt in 358, by the arms of *Mòazz ledîn-illah*, but this of the year 347, from an African mint, shews that he was not accurately informed. Traité des Monn. Musulm. p. 40. Adler, Collect. nova, p. 145. describes a dirhem of *Al-Moazz* of the year 359, coined also at *Mansurîah*. The legends are the same as on the gold coin, but his reading of the line beginning with وعلي "et *Ali*," is particularly incorrect, in consequence, as it would seem, of the bad condition of the specimen in that part.

the nominal head of the state, resolved upon invading it, and in the year 358–968 sent an army for that purpose under the command of an experienced general named جوهر *Jauhar*. No effectual resistance being made, the whole of Lower Egypt was, in the course of that year, reduced to the subjection of the Fatimite, and *Jauhar* upon taking possession of the ancient capital, generally termed مصر *Misr*, although its local appellation was فسطاط *Fostât*,(1) caused the *khotbah*, or invocation in the mosques, to be pronounced in the name of *Al-Moazz*, instead of *Al-Motî-lillah*, the Abbassite khalif of Baghdâd, to whom this acknowledgment of superiority had hitherto been made by the *Akhshîd* princes. He then, according to the practice of the times, proceeded to lay the foundation of a new city, in the vicinity of the old one, to which he gave the name of القاهرة *Al-Kâhirah* or the "victorious," from القاهر *Al-Kâher* the Arabic name of the planet Mars, which happened at the time to be in the ascendant.(2) The former name of *Misr*, however, still retained its place on the coinage, as well as in historic writings, and it was not until a period much later that the appellation which Europeans have corrupted to Cairo and Caire, predominated.(3)

GOLD, An. 363.

The building of the city being completed in 362 (one year prior to the date of this coin), the khalif repaired thither in person, and from that

(1) *Fostât* signifies (according to Meninski) a tent of goats' hair, and the city is said to have been so named from the tent of *Amru*, general of the khalif *Omar*, which was there set up, in the year 20 of the *hejrah*. "Valet enim hæc vox (says Golius) tabernaculum, vicum, urbem. A tabernaculo Amri f. Al-Asi hanc Ægypti metropolim ita nominatam tradunt plerique omnes." Notæ in Alfergan. p. 151. "Fostat (says D'Anville) fut la ville dominante de l'Egypte, servant de résidence aux *Omara-Mesr*, ou princes qui gouvernèrent l'Egypte sous l'autorité des khalifes, jusqu'au temps où l'Egypte fut conquise pour Moez-eddin, prince Afriquain, par Giauher, qui jeta les fondemens d'une autre ville sous le nom de *Kahira* ..... Cette ville fit abandonner Fostat, dont la situation sur le bord du fleuve étoit néanmoins plus avantageuse; et le nom du Caire, formé d'après celui de Kahira, ayant prévalu, ce qui reste de Fostat est communément appelé le Vieux-Caire." Mém. sur l'Egypte, p. 132.

(2) In this choice of a name from the horoscope, *Jauhar* was influenced by the taste, if not by the orders of his master, *Al-Moazz*, of whom it is said by Abu'lfeda, that, "Astrologium tanti faciebat, ut, quicquid ageret, ex astrologorum judicio id ageret." T. II. p. 525.

(3) "Mirum hunc numum, ut plerosque sequentium, *Misræ* excusum esse, cum tamen sedem regiam habuerint Fatemidæ *Cahiræ*." Adler, Collect. nov. p. 148. It did not occur to the learned Orientalist that the ancient name of *Misr* was applied to all the cities built on that site; subsequently at least to the existence of *Menf* or Memphis.

GOLD, An. 363. that time made it the capital of his extensive empire, comprehending besides Egypt and the coast of Mauritania (the *Meghreb* of the Arabians), Syria, and the islands of Sicily and Sardinia. He died in the year 365–975.(4)

There is in the Collection another dinar in every respect similar to this, excepting the date, which is 364. In Assemani's account of the Nanian Collection he describes one of 365, but reads the place of coinage مصريه instead of مصر *Misr*.

CCVI.

المعز لدين الله ابو تميم معد *AL-MÒAZZ LEDÎN-ILLAH ABU TAMÎM MÒADD.*

CID, quartarium An. 341-365.

I. AREA. *Shîàh* symbol.

MARGIN. Defaced.

II. AREA. الامام معز ابو تميم امير المومـ...

Al-Imâm (antistes) *Moazz Abu Tamîm*, imperator Fidel ....

MARGIN. Defaced. (14 grs.)

Little

(4) When this Fatimite khalif transferred the seat of his government from *Mahdiah* in Africa proper, to *Al-Kâhirah*, he committed the charge of the province to a favourite chief named *Yûsuf ben Zeïri*, whose father had raised himself to consequence during the preceding khalifats. In this relinquishment little more seems to have been reserved than the right of investiture, and *Yûsuf* (who, after annexing to his dominions *Fez* and *Sejelmâsah*, died in 373) thus became the founder of a new and powerful dynasty that amidst continual and sanguinary wars, as well with the neighbouring tribes of Meghrebis and Brebers, as with the Egyptians, Greeks, and finally with the Sicilian Franks, subsisted for about 180 years. It does not appear that any money of the coinage of these princes has been preserved, and it is not improbable that their gold currency was derived from the mint of *Al-Kâhirah*. Their principal cities were *Mansuriah*, *Kairawân* (which, in 442, was taken and destroyed by *Al-Mansûr-billah* of Egypt) and more especially, *Mahdiah*, which, in 543, was stormed and pillaged by an expedition sent against it and other places on the coast of Africa, under the command of a celebrated captain named Georgi, by Roger king of Sicily; on which occasion *Hâsan ben Ali*, the last prince of the Zeïrite dynasty, abandoned his dominions.

Little information is afforded by this quartarium, the inscriptions of which present neither place nor date; the margins failing in consequence of the surface of the piece being unequal to that of the die. We only learn from it that money of this denomination was coined by *Al-Mòazz.* GOLD, quartarium An. 341-365.

CCVII.

العزيز بالله ابو منصور نزار بن معد *AL-AZÎZ-BILLAH ABU MANSÛR NAZÂR BEN MÒADD,*

Fifth Fatimite khalif, and second of Egypt.

I. INNER CIRCLE. لااله الا الله محمد رسول الله
علي ..... الله

GOLD, An. 366.

Non est deus nisi Deus. Muhammed est legatus Dei, Ali ..... Dei.

MARGIN. Second symbol.

II. INNER CIRCLE. عبد الله ووليه ا الامام
العزيز بالله امير المومنـ..

Servus Dei et dilectus ejus, *Al-Imâm Al-Aźiz-billah* imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر بمصر
سنه ست وستين و... مايه

In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius in *Misr* (*Kâhirah*) anno 366 (976). (2 dw. 10 gr.)

The khalif *Al-Aźiz-billah* succeeded his father *Al-Moazz* in 365, the year preceding the date of this dinar, the legends of which differ considerably from those that have been described, and present some peculiar difficulties. He was the first of the Fatimite khalifs in whose name the *khotbah* was pronounced in the mosque of the city of Mecca.(1)

In

(1) "The *khootba* is a form of prayer, in which the souls of all departed patriarchs and prophets are first prayed for, beginning with *Adam* and ending with *Muhammed.* The souls of the reigning

GOLD, An. 366. In the latter part of the inscription forming the Inner circle of I. the word intermediate between the name of علي *Ali* and that of الله *Allah*, should, from analogy, be ولي amicus, but the characters by no means warrant that reading. So, on the other hand, in the Inner circle of II. the words following عبدالله و "servus Dei et," and preceding الامام, seem to be وليه "amicus s. dilectus ejus," but with the addition of an ا that appears superfluous.

CCVIII.

العزيز بالله ابو منصور نزار بن معد *AL-AZÎZ-BILLAH ABU MANSÛR NAZÂR BEN MÒADD.*

GOLD, An. 376.

I. INNER CIRCLE. As in dinar of 366.

MARGIN. Second symbol.

II. INNER CIRCLE. As in dinar of 366.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر بواسط
سنه ست و سبعين و ثلث مايه

In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius in *Wâset*, anno 376 (986).
(2 dw. 15½ gr.)

Although there is an interval of ten years between the date of this dinar and that of the one last described (belonging to the same khalif), the legends, with the exception of the date and place, are minutely the same, and the same difficulties that presented themselves in the former recur here. In addition to these, the name of *Wâset*, a city of Arabian Irak, as the place of coinage, is a circumstance not easy to explain; for however

reigning family's ancestors are then recommended to mercy, and the whole concludes with a prayer for the prosperity of the monarch on the throne, and the welfare of his subjects. It is read every Friday in the *mizid jamée*, or grand mosque of all towns, and on the *eeds* or grand festivals."

Scott's Memoirs of the Mogul Empire, p. 50.

however celebrated its mint may have been under the khalifs of Damascus and Baghdad, it does not, either at the date of this money or any other period, appear to have been within the jurisdiction of the Fatimite khalifs of Egypt. To the characters that follow the name of علي *Ali*, in the inner circle of I. no consistent meaning can be attached. GOLD, An. 376.

CCIX.

العزيز بالله ابو منصور نزار *AL-AZÎZ-BILLAḤ ABU MANSÛR NAZAR.*

I. INNER CIRCLE. لااله الاالله محمد رسول الله
Third symbol.

GOLD, quartarium An. 385.

MARGIN. ..... سنة خمسة و .....
..... anno . . 5 .

II. INNER CIRCLE. العزيز بالله امير المومنين
Al-Aziz-billah, imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN. .... خلدالاالله العف ?
Illegible. ($15\frac{1}{2}$ grs.)

The defects of this quartarium render it of little importance. In the form and distribution of the characters in concentric circles, without an Area, it entirely resembles the dinars of *Al-Mòazz* and his son *Al-Aziz-billah*, and the latter name is obscurely perceptible. Of the date nothing is legible excepting the word خمس or rather خمسة "five," but there is an imperfect appearance of ثمنين "eighty," and the century can be no other than three hundred. The margin of II. contains several characters that cannot be mistaken; yet I am unable to ascertain what words they form or to what formulary sentence they belong.

CCX. CCXI.

الحاكم بامرالله ابو علي المنصور بن العزيز *AL-HÂKAM BEAMR-ILLAH ABU ALI AL-MANSÛR BEN AL-AZÎZ,*

Sixth Fatimite khalif, Third of Egypt.

GOLD, quartarium An. 386-411.

I. AREA. *Shiâh* symbol.

MARGIN. Second symbol abbreviated and imperfect.

II. AREA. المنصور ابو علي الامام الحاكم بامرالله
امير المومنين

Al-Mansûr Abu Ali al-Imâm Al-Hâkam beamr-illah, imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN. ..... ضرب هذا الدينر بالمه ....

..... cuditur hic denarius in M ..... (15½ grs. 15 grs.)

In its principal inscription this small gold coin of the khalif *Al-Hâkam beamr-illah* is remarkably clear and legible, but those of the Margins are for the most part lost from deficiency of surface. The reading of the word *dinar*, with or without the ا, is rendered doubtful. The name of the place of coinage is partially, and the date entirely wanting. From the year 386 to 411 was the duration of his khalifat. The order of his names and titles in the legend is different from what is found in the histories of the times, where *al-Mansûr* (the victorious) is usually placed the last. There is reason indeed to believe that the words are often transposed according to the fancy of the engraver. The Collection contains two specimens of this coin, which has not been elsewhere described.

CCXII.

الحاكم بامرالله ابو علي المنصور *AL-HÂKAM BEAMR-ILLAH ABU ALI AL-MANSÛR.*

GOLD, quartarium An. 395.

I. AREA. محمد رسو الله علي ولي الله

Muhammed est legatus Dei, Ali amicus Dei.

MARGIN. لااله الا الله وحده . . . . . محمد رسول الله علي ول .

Non est deus nisi Deus unicus (cui non est socius). Muhammed est legatus Dei, Ali (amicus).

II. AREA. الحاكم بامرالله امير المومنين

Al-Hâkam beamr-illah, imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN. . . . . دينر بصقليه سنه خمسه و تسعين و ثلث مايه

. . . . in *Sikiliah* (Sicilia) anno 395 (1004). ($15\frac{3}{4}$ grs.)

The date upon this quartarium of the same khalif is perfect, and the name of صقليه *Sikiliah* (for Sicilia) is sufficiently distinguishable as the place of coinage; in which, as in some other instances that have been noticed, the name of the country is used for that of the capital city, or Palermo. When more specific mention is necessary, the Arabians write this word بلرم *Balermo.*

The legends are here particularly unmethodical. What should (from analogy) be the *Shiàh* symbol in Area I. is deficient in the words لااله الاالله which occur indeed in the Margin, but with the unnecessary repetition of what the Area contained; excepting the word الله Dei, which ought to follow ولي amicus, when the possessive pronoun is not annexed. It may be observed that in the units of the date the word for 5 is written خمسه, in the masculine form, instead of خمس.

CCXIII.

الحاكم بامرالله ابو علي منصور *AL-HÂKAM BEAMR-ILLAH ABU ALI MANSÛR.*

GOLD, quartarium An. 411.

I. AREA. *Shiâh* symbol.

MARGIN. Second symbol abbreviated and imperfect.

II. AREA. عبد الله و وليه الامام المنصور
امير المومنين

Servus Dei et dilectus illius, *Imâm Al-Mansûr*, imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN. ..... بالمهدية سنه
احد عشر واربع مايه

..... in *Mahdiah*, anno 411 (1020). (15½ grs.)

It was in the latter part of this year, 411, that *Abu Ali Al Mansûr*, surnamed *Al-Hâkam beamr-illah*, died.(1) The small size of the coin did not conveniently admit of his name being given at full length, but the Fatimite legend, combined with the date and the place of coinage, which was the birth-place of his father, in Africa, prove that however common the title of *Al-Mansûr* may have been, it here belongs to the son of *Al-Azîz-billah*. "Interest nomina et cognomina principum animadvertere (Adler judiciously observes), quia pro arbitrio, nunc uno, nunc altero, reliquis omissis, appellantur." Mus. Cuf. Bor. p. 155.

(1) For some curious particulars respecting the coinage of this khalif, and his attempt to regulate the standard proportions of gold and silver currency, see Makrizi's 'Traité des Monnoies Musulm.' p. 41. 42. and De Sacy's Notes.

CCXIV.

CCXIV.

الظاهر لاعزاز دين الله ابو الحسن علي *AL-DHÂHER LIIZÂZ DÎN-ILLAH ABU'L HASAN ALI,*

Seventh Fatimite khalif, Fourth of Egypt.

GOLD, quartarium An. 420.

I. AREA. *Shîàh* symbol.

INNER CIRCLE. First symbol.

MARGIN. Second symbol, very imperfect.

II. AREA. الظاهر لاعزاز دين الله امير المومنين

Al-Dhâher liizâz din-illah, imperator Fidelium.

INNER CIRCLE. الامام عبد الله و وليه ابو الحسن علي

Imâm (antistes) servus Dei et amicus (dilectus) ejus, *Abu'l-Hasan Ali.*

MARGIN. بسم الله ..... سنه عشرين و اربع مايه

In nomine Dei ..... anno 420 (1029). (15½ grs.)

The quantity of legend upon this small gold coin is extraordinary. The characters, especially in the Areas, are extremely indistinct, but nothing is wanting or quite illegible excepting the name of the place.

The completion of the First symbol, with the words لاشريك له "ei non est socius," appears here for the first time on a Fatimite coin. In the inscription of the inner circle of II. a peculiarity may be observed with respect to the name of علي *Ali,* which seems intended to apply in a double or ambiguous sense, accordingly as it is considered to be the *last* or the *first* word of the circular line. In the one case it belongs to the proper name of the khalif or *imâm, Abu'l Hasan Ali;* in the other, to the son-in-law of the Prophet, the *imâm* or leader of their sect. In the same inscription there seems to be a superfluous character after the word الامام, and another after the name of الحسن, resembling in form the Cufic د; but they may be no more than ornamental protractions of the tails to the final letters.

This

GOLD, quartarium An. 420. This khalif succeeded upon the assassination of his father, in the tenth month of the year 411, and reigned till 427.

CCXV.

الظاهر لاعزاز دين الله ابو الحسن علي *AL-DHÂHER LIIZÁZ DÍN-ILLAH ABU'L HASAN ALI.*

GOLD, quartarium An. 423.

I. AREA. *Shîàh* symbol.

MARGIN. Second symbol abbreviated.

II. AREA. الظاهر لاعزاز دين الله امير المومنين

Al-Dhâher liizáz dín-illah, imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا لدينا . . . . قليه
سنه ثلثه وعشرين واربع مايه

In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius (hoc quartarium) in (*Si*)*kiliah* (Sicilia) anno 423 (1031). (15 grs.)

In this neat and perfectly legible quartarium, struck in Sicily, under the government of the same khalif, there is nothing defective but a few marginal characters destroyed by the perforation to which so many coins have been subject, for the purpose of appending as ornaments or charms. These are, on one side, the و of رسول, and on the other, the ر of دينار, as well as the preposition and first letter of بصقليه "*in Sikiliah;* none of which deficiencies, however, occasion any doubt of the reading of the word. The ا *alif* in the orthography of دينار *dinâr* is here obvious, and we may observe that the numeral "three" of the date is written ثلثه instead of ثلث; a peculiarity already noticed in the units on a quartarium of 395.

CCXVI.

CCXVI.

الظاهر لاعزازدين الله ابو الحسن علي *AL-DHÂHER LIIZÂZ DÎN-ILLAH ABU'L HÂSAN ALI.*

I. AREA. First symbol. *Shâh* symbol. GOLD, An. 425.

MARGIN. بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ضرب هذا الدينار
بمصر سنه خمس وعشرين واربع مايه

In nomine Dei misericordissimi cuditur hic denarius in *Misr* (*Al-Kâhirah*) anno 425 (1033).

II. AREA. الامام علي ابو الحسن الظاهر لاعزاز
دين الله امير المومنين

Imâm (antistes) *Ali Abu al-Hâsan Al-Dhâher liizâz dîn-illah* imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN. Second symbol. (2 dw. 15 grs.)

In the perspicuous legend of this dinar, which exhibits much good taste, we may notice as peculiarities, in the first place, the union of two symbols in the same area, and in the next, the introduction of the synonimous epithets of الرحمن and الرحيم, merciful and compassionate, as attributes of the Deity, which are found at the commencement of the first chapter of the korân, and have a place in the exordium of every mussulman work.

Although the relative position of the words الامام *al-imâm* and علي *Ali* is here changed from what was observed on the coin of 420, yet it is obvious that they are intended, by a double application, to connect the name and office of the patron of their faith with those of the reigning khalif.

CCXVII.

CCXVII.

المستنصر بالله ابو تميم معد بن ظاهر *AL-MOSTANṢER-BILLAH ABU TÂMIM MÔADD BEN DHÂHER,*

Eighth Fatimite khalif, and Fifth of Egypt.

GOLD, An. 428.

I. AREA. First symbol. *Shiàh* symbol.

MARGIN. Second symbol.

II. AREA. الامام معد ابو تميم المستنصر بالله
امير المومنين

Imâm (antistes) *Mòadd Abu Tamîm Al-Mostanser-billah,* imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN. بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ضرب هذا الدينر
بمصر سنه ثمان وعشرين واربع مايه

In nomine Dei misericordissimi cuditur hic denarius in *Misr,* anno 428 (1036). (2 dwt. 15 grs.)

This dinar, coined in the second year of the reign of *Mostanser-billah,* possesses the same elegance as that of 425, in the preceding reign, and is struck with more precision. The workmanship would do credit to the best times of Cufic numismatics. We may here, as well as in many other instances, remark the fair correspondence between the dates on the money, and the accessions of the khalifs respectively, as recorded by the native historians. The father of *Mostanser,* who died in 427, coined, as we have seen, in 425, and this dinar of 428 bears the name of his son.

Over the letter ن in مستنصر we observe the modern diacritical point; but on the other hand, the earlier orthography of the word دينر *dinar* is here retained.

CCXVIII.

المستنصر بالله أبو تميم معد *AL-MOSTANSER-BILLAH ABU TAMÎM MÒADD.*

I. AREA. علي لااله الا الله وحده لاشريك له
محمد رسول الله ولي الله

GOLD, An. 439.

Ali (First symbol. Muhammed est legatus Dei) amicus Dei.

MARGIN. Second symbol.

II. AREA. معد عبدالله و وليه الامام ابو تميم
المستنصر بالله امير المومنين

Mòadd, servus Dei et dilectus illius, *imâm* (antistes) *Abu Tamîm Al-Mostanser-billah*, imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN. بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ضرب هذا الدينر بمصر
سنه تسع وثلثين واربع مايه

In nomine Dei misericordissimi cuditur hic denarius in *Misr*, anno 439 (1047). (2 dw. 15½ grs.)

Although the Area of I. in this dinar contains the same two symbols that are found in that of the preceding coin, the disposition of the words, depending, as it would seem, upon the fancy of the artist, is materially different, and the name of علي *Ali*, at the top, must obviously be read in conjunction with the words ولي الله amicus Dei, in the last line.

The name of معد *Mòadd*, so conspicuous in Area II., belongs not only to the reigning khalif, but also to the first of the dynasty who ruled in Egypt, and for whose memory a degree of religious veneration appears to have been entertained. It seems to be intended to form a counterpart to the name of علي *Ali* on the opposite side. By Adler, who describes a similar coin of the same year (Collect. nov. n°. XCVI. p. 147), instead of معد *Mòadd*, this name is written محمد *Muhammed*, and in fact it was obviously the intention of the artist to make the one resemble the other as nearly as the characters would allow.

CCXIX.—CCXXI.

المستنصر بالله ابو تميم معد *AL-MOSTANSER-BILLAH ABU TAMÎM MÒADD.*

GOLD, An. 442.

I. INNER CIRCLE. لااله الا الله محمد رسول الله

Non est deus nisi Deus, Muhammed est legatus Dei.

MIDDLE CIRCLE. وعلي افضل الوصيين و وزير خير المرسلين

Et Ali præstantissimus hæredum et vicarius optimi legatorum.

MARGIN. Second symbol.

II. INNER CIRCLE. المستنصر بالله امير المومنين

Al-Mostanser-billah imperator Fidelium.

MIDDLE CIRCLE. دعا الامام معد لتوحيد الاله الصمد

Exhortatio antistis *Mòadd* ad unitatem Dei æterni.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر بصور
سنه اثنين واربعين واربع مايه

In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius in *Sûr* (Tyro) anno 442 (1050).
(2 dw. 11½ grs. 2 dw. 12½ grs. 2 dw. 18 grs.)

This dinar resembles in its triple circular inscriptions, the Mòazzîn coins or those of the first Fatimite khalif of Egypt. It boasts the distinguished peculiarity of being from the mint of *Sûr* or *Tsûr*, the ancient Tyre, and is, I believe, the only mussulman coin of that description known to exist. The Franks possessed themselves of this celebrated maritime city in 581; in 583 it was besieged without effect by *Sâlah ed-dîn*, and some years afterwards it was demolished by one of the Mamlûk sultans.

Respecting the expressions applied to *Ali* of "præstantissimus hæredum et vicarius &c." see note to Remarks on a dinar of the year 347.

Another dinar, in most circumstances similar to this, was coined at *Misr* in 443. A third, the characters of which are more distinct and the

the coin itself heavier than the preceding, is likewise from the mint of the capital of Egypt, and bears the date of 462, with the name of *Al-Mostanser-billah.* GOLD, An. 442.

CCXXII.

المستنصر بالله ابو تميم معد *AL-MOSTANSER-BILLAH ABU TAMÎM MÒADD.*

I. AREA. علي لا اله الا الله وحده لاشريك له
محمد رسول الله ولي الله
First symbol. *Shiàh* symbol. GOLD, An. 465.

MARGIN. Second symbol.

II. AREA. معد عبد اله و وليه الامام ابو تميم
المستنصر بالله امير المومنين

Mòadd. Servus Dei et dilectus illius, antistes *Abu Tamîm Al-Mostanser-billah,* imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN. بسم اللهُ الرحمن الرحيم ضرب هذا الدينر
باس... سنه خمس وستين واربع مايه

In nomine Dei misericordissimi cuditur hic denarius in *As . . ?* anno 465 (1072). (2 dw. 14 grs.)

A considerable difference appears in the style of the inscriptions on this dinar from those coined by the same khalif in 442, 443, and 462; but it nearly resembles that of 439, in the remarks on which it was observed that an intention shewed itself on the part of the artist to confuse the name of معد *Mòadd* with that of محمد *Muhammed.* In this instance it is still more palpable, and upon a superficial view it may be thought to have the features of the latter rather than the former. A closer inspection, however, will shew that there is no character answering

Gold, An. 465. to that essential one, the hard ـه, although the ه is distorted in a way to pass for it. In the name of علي *Ali* also we perceive an unusual license, that gives to the orthography the appearance of a supernumerary letter; nor have the words at the bottom of the same Area, with which, as a common formulary, the name should be in connexion, any clear resemblance to ولي الله "amicus Dei." A suspicion indeed arises, that the person who composed the design for the engraver, or perhaps the khalif himself, was ill disposed to the principles of the *Shîàhs*, and endeavoured to render ambiguous and obscure what related to their profession of faith. That a new artist was employed is evident from the general form of the character and the variations in particular letters, such as the final م, ن, and ه, and the medial و in المومنين, which might be mistaken for ه. But any doubts respecting the words that should be expressed will be removed by an attentive comparison with the legend of the dinar next following, which, notwithstanding an interval of twenty-one years between the coinage of each, is in substance a counterpart, although in the execution far more distinct.

The characters composing the first syllable or syllables of the name of the place are distorted like many others, and render it uncertain. Those of the last syllable have the appearance of لسر *ls*. On a dinar of the same year Castiglioni reads طربلسن *Trabolus*, Tripoli of Syria.

CCXXIII.

المستنصر بالله ابو تميم معد *AL-MOSTANSER-BILLAH ABU TAMÎM MOADD.*

Gold, An. 486. I. Area and Margin as in dinar of 465, but with more perfect characters.

II. Area.

GOLD, An. 486.

II. AREA. معد عبد الله و وليه الامام ابو تميم
المستنصر بالله امير المومنين علي

Moadd. Servus Dei et dilectus illius, antistes *Abu Tamîm Al-Mostanser-billah,* imperator Fidelium. *Ali.*

MARGIN. بسم الله الرحمن و الرحيم ضرب هذا الدينر
بمصر سنه ست وثمانين واربع مايه

In nomine Dei misericordissimi cuditur hic denarius in *Misr,* anno 486 (1093). (2 dw. 18 grs.)

This is the seventh and last of a series of dinars of the khalif *Al-Mostanser-billah,* who died in the year 487, after a reign of uncommon duration, being sixty years and a few months. In 454 it was his singular fortune to be proclaimed khalif in *Baghdâd* also, in consequence of a revolution effected by an enterprising Turkish officer named *Besasiri,* that led to the deposing of the Abbassite khalif *Al-Kâïm beamr-illah,* who, however, was restored to his rights about twelve months after.(1) In the year 462, and again in 465, he *(Mostanser)* is said to have been reduced to such pecuniary distress as to have been under the necessity of selling the precious articles of his wardrobe.

The general resemblance between this dinar and the one last described, has been already noticed. Their difference consists in the superior precision and clearness of the character in this; in a more perfect state of preservation; in the name of *Ali* appearing at the bottom of Area II. as well as at the top of Area I., and in being coined at *Misr* or *Kâhirah.* In weight also it exceeds the former by four grains.

(1) " Mais pendant que Thogrul-Beg avoit séjourné dans le Khorassan, il étoit arrivé une étonnante révolution dans Bagdet. Bassa-Siri avoit reparut avec des troupes, s'étoit emparé de la ville; et ayant de son autorité privée déposé le Calife, il l'avoit envoyé prisonnier dans un château des environs, et avoit fait proclamer Mostanser-Billah, comme seul et unique Calife tant à Bagdet qu'en Egypte ..... et cette révolution se soutint pendant l'espace d'environ un an." Marigny, Hist. des Arabes, t. IV. p. 134.

CCXXIV.

الامر باحكام الله ابو علي المنصور بن مستعلي *AL-AMER BEÁHKÁM-ALLAH ABU ALI AL-MANSÛR BEN MOSTÀLA,*

Tenth Fatimite khalif, and Seventh of Egypt.

GOLD, An. 511.

I. AREA. Ei (sit) præeminentia? عال عليه

INNER CIRCLE. *Shiàh* symbol.

MARGIN. Second symbol.

II. AREA. *Al-Imâm Al-Mansúr* الامام المنصور

INNER CIRCLE. ابو علي الامر باحكام الله امير المومنين
Abu Ali Al-Amer beáhkâm-allah imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN. بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ضرب هذا الدينر
بمصر سنه احد عشره وخمس مايه
In nomine Dei misericordissimi cuditur hic denarius in *Misr*, anno 511 (1117). (2 dw. 18½ grs.)

The two words in the small Area of I. which I have ventured to read عال عليه Ei (sit) præeminentia, and of which the characters are particularly distinct both on this and on subsequent dinars, have been the subject of much doubt and contradictory explanation. By O. G. Tychsen they are supposed to mean either عال غالب illustris victor, or, عال غانه illustris opibus suis. The one reading, however, is not warranted by the characters, and the other is in itself improbable. By Assemani they are read علي عامر *Ali Amer*, without any semblance of probability. Adler, on the other hand, ingenuously confesses that he could not discover their signification.(1)

As

(1) "Duo verba arabica, quæ quid sibi velint, non satis capio." Collectio nova, p. 149. See also, Introd. in rem numar. Muham. p. 116, 117. Mus. Cuf. Nanian. p. XXVI. Whatever meaning the words may be intended to convey, it is evident that in their appearance and sound they allude to the name of علي *Ali*, being all from the same root, which implies "elevation."

As a general rule, that face of the coin has been considered as the obverse or I. which exhibited the commencement of the first symbol, لااله الا الله; but if the words above noticed convey the meaning I have assigned to them, the *relative* form of عليه super eum, ei, cui, implies the name of the khalif as its *antecedent*, and consequently that the side which contains the name and title should here have the precedence and be placed as the obverse. GOLD, An. 511.

A practice prevailed at this period of protracting and elevating the tails of final and other unconnected letters, which occupy the space of an additional letter, and are sometimes liable to be mistaken for such. In the coin before us it is carried to excess.

CCXXV.

الامر باحكام الله ابو علي المنصور *AL-AMER BEÂHKAM-ALLAH ABU ALI AL-MANSÛR.*

I. AREA, INNER CIRCLE and MARGIN as in the preceding. GOLD, An. 512.

II. AREA and INNER CIRCLE ditto.

MARGIN. بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ضرب هذا الدينر
بالاسكندريه سنه اثنين عشره وخمس مايه

In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius in *Iskanderîah* (Alexandria) anno 512 (1118). (2 dw. 14 grs.)

This dinar nearly resembles the preceding one, but is remarkable in being the first that presents itself from the mint of the celebrated city of *Iskanderîah* or Alexandria. The earliest I have elsewhere noticed is of the year 530, described by Adler, Collect. Nov. p. 149.

CCXXVI.

CCXXVI.

الامر باحكام الله ابو علي المنصور *AL-AMER BEÂHKÂM-ALLAH ABU ALI AL-MANSÛR.*

GOLD, quartarium An. 530.

I. AREA. Ei (sit) præeminentia? عال عليه

INNER CIRCLE. *Shîàh* symbol.

MARGIN. Second symbol abbreviated.

II. AREA. *Al-Imâm* (antistes) *Al-Mansûr* الامام المنصور

INNER CIRCLE. ابو علي الامر باحكام الله امير المومنين
Abu Ali Al-Amer beâhkâm-allah imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضر . . . . . سنه ثلثين وخمس مايه
In nomine Dei cud . . . . . anno 530 (1135). (15 grs.)

In its inscriptions, generally, this gold quartarium resembles those of the preceding dinar, and bears the name and title of the same khalif. The inconsistency of the date, however, presents a difficulty that I am unable to account for or explain. According both to Abu'lfeda and Abu'lfaraj, *Al-Amer beâhkâm-allah* was assassinated by the Batenians in the latter part of the year 524, and succeeded by his nephew, *Al-Hafedh;* and this date is adopted by De Guignes in his chronological tables.(1) In contradiction to this, we here see a coin of that khalif, with the date of 530, or six years later than his supposed death. Nor does the doubt hang upon the accuracy of my reading a minute legend, alone, for it may be observed that Adler (Collect. nova, p. 149) describes a dinar of the same prince, coined in the same year. I can do no otherwise than state

(1) "Hujus anni (524) mense penultimo peremptus est a Batenitis Amer beahcam allah Abu-Ali Mansur, filius Mostoalæ &c. postquam viginti novem annos, quinque menses et quindecim dies suprema dignitate gavisus fuisset." Annales Muslem. t. III. p. 439. "Anno quingentesimo vicesimo quarto, secundo mensis Du'lkaadæ, interfectus est *Al-Amer-beeh camilla, Abu Ali, Ebn o'l Mostaali*, Aliada, Ægypti dominus." Historia Dynast. p. 250.

state the conflicting circumstances, professing my inability to reconcile them. Owing to unequal striking, the name of the place is wanting, but as that described by Adler was from the mint of Alexandria, this is likely to have been from the same. GOLD, quartarium An. 530.

CCXXVII.

الحافظ لدين‌الله عبدالمجيد ابو الميمون *AL-HAFEDH LEDÎN-ILLAH ABD-AL-MAJÎD ABU AL-MEIMÛN,*

Eleventh Fatimite khalif, and Eighth of Egypt.

I. AREA. Ei (sit) præeminentia. عال عليه GOLD, An. 544.

INNER CIRCLE. *Shîàh* symbol.

MARGIN. Second symbol.

II. AREA. الامام عبدالمجيد

Al-Imâm (antistes) *Abd-al-Majîd.*

INNER CIRCLE. ابو الميمون الحافظ لدين‌الله
امير المومنين

Abu'l Meimún Al-Hafedh ledín-illah imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN. بسم الله الرحمن و الرحيم ضرب هذا الدينر
بالاسكندريه سنه اربع واربعين و خمسمايه

In nomine Dei misericordissimi cuditur hic denarius in *Alexandria*, anno 544 (1149). (2 dw. 19½ grs.)

The khalif *Al-Amer beâhkâm-allah* leaving no issue, was succeeded by his nephew *Al-Hafedh Abd-al-Majîd*, in the last year of whose reign this dinar was struck at Alexandria. It is the latest in the Collection of the Fatimite dynasty, which was extinguished in the year 567 by the Ayubite sultan, *Sâlah-ed-dîn*, who, upon the death of *Al-Adhad ledîn-illah*, assumed

GOLD, An. 544. assumed the government, and caused the name of the khalif of Baghdad to be pronounced in the mosques, and to be inscribed, along with his own, upon the coinage.

The surname of المیمون *Al-Meimûn*, (felix, augustus) which appears on the dinar, is not given to him, in addition to his other titles, by Abu'lfeda, but in the Dynasties of Abu'lfaraj it appears precisely as on the coin, and affords a satisfactory proof of historical accuracy. In the name of the city the penultimate character of الاسکندریه *Al-Iskandrîah* is omitted. The weight is greater than that of preceding dinars.(1)

(1) On the subject of the doubt expressed in p. 190, whether the title of *Mahdi* was assumed by *Obeidallah* or by his son *Al-Kasem*, see remarks by S. de Sacy, in "Notices et Extraits des Manuscr. du Roi," t. II. p. 148, which serve to shew that it more probably belonged to the latter.

AYUBITES OF EGYPT AND SYRIA.

THIS remarkable dynasty was founded, in the sixth century of the *hejrah*, by *Sâlah-ed-dîn* or Saladin, equally renowned in European and Asiatic history. His original or proper name was يوسف بن ايوب *Yûsuf ben Ayûb* or Joseph the son of Job, and from his patronymic it derived its appellation, although *Ayûb* himself, a general in the service of *Nûr-ed-dîn*, was a person of no particular celebrity. The events which led to the extraordinary elevation of his son shall here be succinctly noticed.

Adhad ledîn-illah, the Fatimite khalif of Egypt and head of the sect of *Shîâs* or followers of Ali, finding himself unable to repel the encroachments made on his authority by an ambitious and insolent minister, applied for support to *Nûr-ed-dîn Atâbeg ben Zengi*, the most powerful amongst the rulers of Syria, by whom an army was sent to his assistance, under the command of an experienced general named *Shîrkûh*, who soon effected the object of his mission, but did not long survive the honours that were conferred upon him by the grateful khalif.

He was succeeded in the command of the army by his nephew, *Sâlah-ed-dîn Yûsuf*, who had already distinguished himself in the Syrian wars, and whose superior talents soon placed him in the situation of first minister to *Adhad*, with the title of *Malek al Nâser* (rex adjuvans), which generally appears on his coins. In this high office, however, he did not display the virtue of gratitude to his new master, or of liberality or justice to those whom he was appointed to govern. Being himself a zealous *sunni* or orthodox mussulmân, he shewed his antipathy to the sectaries by dismissing all governors and other great functionaries who professed what had in fact become the established religion of the country, and previously to the death of the khalif (in 567), hastened as it was by these proceedings, he had removed the name and titles of *Adhad*, the Fatimite commander of the Faithful, from the Egyptian coinage, and substituted those of *Mostadhi*, the Abbassite khalif of Baghdâd. This

 he

he did with the concurrence and ostensibly by the direction of *Núr-ed-dín*, to whom, up to the present period at least, he professed allegiance; but when, in consequence of the khalif's demise, he had obtained full possession of his palace and treasury (amply stored from the duties on Indian commerce), he began to assume the character and style of an independent sovereign. As might be expected, however, his pretensions were opposed by that wise prince, who even marched an army into Egypt, and compelled him to abandon his capital for a time; but an accommodation afterwards took place, his title was acknowledged, and *Núr-ed-dín* returned to Syria, where he died immediately after, in the year 569–1173. The right of his son, *Malek as-Sálah Ismáil*, to succeed to the inheritance of his dominions, was sanctioned by *Sálaḥ-ed-dín*, although he subsequently availed himself of dissentions amongst the Syrian princes to deprive him of the greater part of them, and actually laid siege to *Haleb* or Aleppo, his capital, but without success.

Upon the death of *Mostadhi* and accession of *Náser-ledín-illah*, in 575, the claims of *Sálah-ed-dín* to the sultanship of Egypt were regularly acknowledged, and in return we find the name and titles of this Abbassite khalif upon the coinage of the sultan, and generally upon that of the Ayubite family.

SULTANS OF THE *AYUBITE* DYNASTY IN *EGYPT* AND *SYRIA*.

	A.H.	A.D.
1. *Al-Malek Al-Náser* (or *An-Náser*) *Sálah-ed-dín Abu'l Modhaffer Yúsuf ben Ayúb* الملك الناصر صالح الدين ابو المظفر يوسف بن ايوب	567	1171
2. *Al-Malek Al-Azíz Amád-ed-dín Othmán ben Al-Náser* الملك العزيز عماد الدين عثمان بن الناصر	589	1193
3. *Al-Malek Al-Mansúr Nasr-ed-dín Muhammed ben Al-Azíz* الملك المنصور نصر الدين محمد بن العزيز	595	1198
4. *Al-Malek Al-Adel Seif-ed-dín Abu-bekr Muhammed ben Ayúb* الملك العدل سيف الدين ابوبكر محمد بن ايوب	596	1200

5. *Al-*

	A.H.	A.D.
5. *Al-Malek Al-Kamel Abu'l fatha Nâser-ed-dîn Muhammed ben Al-Adel* الملك الكامل ابو الفتح ناصر الدين محمد بن العدل	615	1218
6. *Al-Malek Al-Adel Seif-ed-dîn Abu-bekr ben Al-Kâmel* الملك العدل سيف الدين ابو بكر بن الكامل	635	1238
7. *Al-Malek as-Sâlah Nejm-ed-dîn Ayûb ben Al-Kâmel* الملك الصالح نجم الدين ايوب بن الكامل	637	1240
8. *Al-Malek Al-Moadham Tûrân shâh ben As-Sâlah* الملك المعظم تورانشاه بن الصالح	647	1249
9. *Al-Malek Al-Ashraf Mûsa ben Yûsuf* الملك الاشرف موسى بن يوسف	648	1250

When the young sultan, *Al-Moadham*, the last of the direct race of *Sâlah-ed-dîn*, had reigned only a few months, he was put to death by his Mamluk guards, who were indignant at his having, without their participation, entered into a negociation for the ransom of Louis IX. of France. They placed upon the throne the widow of his father, under the controul of *Azz-ed-dîn Ibek*, one of their own body, who was himself, shortly after, proclaimed sultan; but before the ceremonies of inauguration could be performed, he was set aside, and this turbulent faction gave the nominal authority of the government to a prince descended from a collateral branch of the late royal family, being the son of *Yûsuf* king of Yemen. This last Ayubite sultan assumed, upon his accession, the title of *Malek Al-Ashraf*, in addition to his original name of *Mûsa*. After reigning, in tutelage, about four years, he was sent back to Arabia, in 652–1254, and a new dynasty, of Mamluk Baharites, was established in the person of *Ibek*.

It must be observed, however, that independently of those sultans of the great Ayubite family who successively possessed the throne of Egypt, various separate kingdoms or principalities fell to the lot of other children of *Sâlah-ed-dîn*, its founder, as well as of his brother, *Malek Al-Adel*; the most distinguished of whom were:

OF *DEMESHK* OR DAMASCUS.

	A.H.	A.D.
1. *Al-Malek Al-Afdhal Nûr-ed-dîn Ali ben Al-Nâser* الملك الافضل نورالدين علي بن الناصر	589	1193
2. Deposed by his uncle *Al-Malek Al-Adel*	594	1198
5. *Al-Malek Al-Ashraf Abu'lfatha ben Al-Adel* الملك الاشرف ابو الفتح بن العادل	626	1229
6. *Al-Malek as-Sâlah Amâd-ed-dîn Ismâîl ben Al-Adel* الملك الصالح عماد الدين اسمعيل بن العادل	635	1237
Deposed in the same year, and restored in	643	1245

OF *HALEB* OR ALEPPO.

1. *Al-Malek ed-Dhâher Gheiath ed-dîn Ghâzi ben Al-Nâser* الملك الظاهر غياث الدين غازي بن الناصر	589	1193
2. *Al-Malek Al-Azîz Gheiath ed-dîn Muhammed ben ed-Dhâher* الملك العزيز غياث الدين محمد بن الظاهر	613	1216
3. *Al-Malek Al-Nâser Sâlah-ed-dîn Yûsuf ben Al-Azîz* الملك الناصر صالح الدين يوسف بن العزيز	634	1236
Put to death by the Moghul chief, *Hulâgû*, in	659	1260

CCXXVIII.

الملك الناصر يوسف بن ايوب صالح الدين *AL-MALEK AL-NÂSER YÛSUF BEN AYÛB SÂLAH-ED-DÎN,*

Sultan of Egypt and Syria.

GOLD, An. 583.

I. AREA. الامام الناصر امير المومنين

Al-Imâm (antistes) *Al-Nâser*, imperator Fidelium.

INNER CIRCLE and MARGIN. First and second symbols.

II. AREA.

GOLD, An. 583.

II. AREA. الملك الناصر يوسف بن ايوب
Al-Malek Al-Náser Yúsuf ben Ayúb.

INNER CIRCLE. سلطان الاسلام و المسلمين صالح الدنيا و الدين
Sultanus fidei et fidelium, *Sálah ed-duniya wa ed-dín.*

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر بدمسق سنه
ثلث و ثمنين وخمس مايه
In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius in *Demeshk* (Damasco) anno 583 (1187). (2 dw. 10½ gr.)

A gold coin, circumstantial in its legend and in good preservation, of a prince whose actions were connected with those of our most distinguished crusaders, in the twelfth century, and particularly as the rival in military renown of Richard-cœur-de-lion, must be regarded with interest.

It contains, in the first place, the name of the Abbassite khalif of Baghdad, *Náser ledín-illah*, who reigned from the year 575 to 622; and on the opposite side, the name and titles of the sultan, amongst which that of *Saladin* or *Sálah-ed-dín* (a contraction of *Salah ed-duniya wa ed-dín*) has prevailed over the rest, and become his familiar designation. Being master of Syria as well as of Egypt, this dinar is struck at Damascus, its chief city. The arrangement and execution of its inscriptions is neat, without unnecessary ornament, although the short and square form of the characters themselves is inelegant. In weight it is inferior by about five grains to the dinar of the Fatimites, and by about seven to that of the early khalifs.

There is a peculiarity with respect to the Second symbol, the words of which commence at the conclusion of the First, in the interior circle, and proceed to the exterior, where the initial word is ارسله "quem misit," implying محمد رسول الله as the antecedent.

No silver coins of this prince appear in the Collection. Such are indeed extremely rare in the part of the world which he governed. Copper money, on the contrary, was abundant, and the specimens, generally imperfect, are numerous.

CCXXIX.

الملك الناصر صالح الدين *AL-MALEK AL-NÂSER SÂLAH ED-DÎN.*

COPPER, An. 58(4)

I. AREA. الملك الناصر *Al-Malek Al-Náser.*

MARGIN. . . . يوسف بن ا . . . *Yúsuf ben A(yúb).*

II. AREA. الامام الناصر *Al-Imám Al-Náser.*

MARGIN. . . . . سنه . . ر . . . وثمانين وخمس ما

(Cuditur) anno 58(4) (1188).

On this obolus we find the name of the sultan and that of the khalif, briefly expressed. Of the date only the century and decimal are preserved, but from the appearance of the letter ر, which does not occur in any other numeral, the units may be presumed to be 4. The words in the margin of I. are very indistinct.

CCXXX.

الملك الناصر صالح الدين *AL-MALEK AL-NÂSER SÂLAH ED-DÎN.*

COPPER, An. 587.

I. AREA. الملك الناصر ضرب في حلب سنه

Al-Malek Al-Náser. Cuditur in *Haleb* anno

II. AREA. الامام الناصر سبع و ثمانين و خمس مايه

Al-Imám Al-Náser. 587 (1191).

Haleb or Aleppo, where this obolus was struck, under the auspices of *Sálah-ed-dín*, was the second city in his Syrian dominions. The disposition of the words expressing the date, on two sides of the coin, is remarkable;

remarkable; nor could the whole of them be made out but from the comparison of two specimens. In this instance the title of the sultan manifestly precedes that of the khalif. COPPER, An. 587.

CCXXXI.

الملك الناصر صالح الدين *AL-MALEK AL-NÂSER SÂLAH ED-DÎN.*

I. AREA.	*Al-Malek Al-Náser.* الملك الناصر	COPPER, An. 567-589.
II. AREA.	*Yúsuf ben Ayúb.* يو .. بن ايوب	
MARGIN.	ضرب ..... يمين	

There is nothing worthy of notice in this obolus excepting the word that terminates the sentence in the Margin of II., which, although apparently distinct, cannot be read with any confidence. If supposed to be intended for ثمنين 80, it may be objected that there is at least one character deficient, and also, that the century, not the decimal, ought to occupy that place. Its most obvious resemblance is to the word يمين *yamîn*, none of the various senses of which are applicable to the coin.

CCXXXII.

الملك الناصر صالح الدين *AL-MALEK AL-NÂSER SÂLAH ED-DÎN.*

I. AREA.	*Al-Malek Al-Náser.* ك الناصر ..	COPPER, An. 567-589.
MARGIN.	Obliterated.	
II. AREA.	Cuditur in *Haleb.* ضرب بحلب	
MARGIN.	Obliterated.	

This

COPPER, An. 567-589. This differs from the preceding oboli chiefly in the Areas being circumscribed by small circles, leaving a broad space for the marginal inscriptions, which, however, are too much defaced to be legible.

CCXXXIII.

الملك الناصر *AL-MALEK AL-NÂSER.*

COPPER, An. 575-589.

I. AREA. الملك الناصر *Al-Malek Al-Náser.*

MARGIN. ... يوسف بن .... *Yúsuf ben ...*

II. AREA. الامام الناصر *Al-Imâm Al-Náser.*

MARGIN. ضرب دكوب سنه .....

Cuditur in .... anno ...

In this the characters that compose the name of the place are by no means indistinct, yet their combination does not suggest any known word. They may be read دكوب or ككوب.

CCXXXIV. CCXXXV.

الملك العزيز عثمان بن الناصر *AL-MALEK AL-AZÎZ OTHMÂN BEN AL-NÂSER,*

Second Ayubite sultan of Egypt and Damascus.

COPPER, An. 594?

I. AREA. الملك العزيز عثمان

.. لك المنصور محمد

Al-Malek Al-Aziz Othmán .... lek Al-Mansúr Muhammed.

MARGIN. Illegible.

II. AREA.

II. Area. الامام الناصر لدين الله امير المو . . . . Copper, An. 594?

Al-Imâm Al-Náser ledín-illah imperator Fidel . . .

In the division of the empire upon the death of *Salah-ed-dín*, the city and territory of Damascus, the chief city of Syria, fell to the share of his eldest son, *Al-Malek Al-Afdhal*, whilst the kingdom of Egypt was assigned as the portion of *Al-Malek Al-Azíz*, the next to him in age. On this obolus, besides the name of the latter (and that of the reigning khalif) we find also the name of his son, *Al-Malek Al-Mansûr Muhammed*. The date is wanting; but as such an association must have been intended to secure the succession upon his own decease, we may presume that the coin was struck in the latter part of his reign, and as he died in the first month of 595, that the preceding year, 594, may probably have been its date.

The workmanship is rude, and the words or parts of words are transposed in an extraordinary manner. Thus the letters المو, forming half of the word المومنين, are at the top of Area II. although in the construction they must follow the word امير at the bottom.

A second specimen wants the name of عثمان *Othmán* and also the characters المو at the top of the Area, but has the remainder of the word المومنين at the bottom.

CCXXXVI.

الملك العزيز عثمان *AL-MALEK AL-AZÎZ OTHMÂN.*

I. Area. الملك العزيز عثمان Copper, An. 589-595.

Al-Malek Al-Azíz Othmán

II. Area. بن الملك الناصر يوسف

ben Al-Malek Al-Náser Yúsuf.

COPPER, An. 539-585. Upon this obolus we find simply the name and filiation of the reigning sultan. It was perhaps coined before the specimen that has been described, but being equally without date, it could not claim a priority. A few characters appearing in the margin of I. are not intelligible.

CCXXXVII.

الملك المنصور نصر الدين محمد بن العزيز *AL-MALEK AL-MANSÛR NASR-ED-DÎN MUHAMMED BEN AL-AZÎZ,*

Third sultan of Egypt.

COPPER, An. 595-596.

I. AREA. *Al-Malek Al-Mansûr.* الملك المنصور

II. AREA. *Al-Malek Al-Nâser.* الملك الناصر

When this young sultan had reigned only one year and nine months, he was deposed by his uncle, the celebrated *Malek Al-Adel*, and it may have been from a just apprehension of danger from that quarter, that his father took so much pains to ensure his succession. For the name of *Al-Malek Al-Nâser* on the Reverse, I am unable to account, as it does not appear to have been applied to any person of the Ayubite family (of that generation) with the exception of *Sâlah-ed-dîn* himself, who died seven years before the accession of *Al-Mansûr*. Possibly it may have been intended as a posthumous mark of respect to the founder of the family. It may indeed be considered as an accidental mistake of *Al-Malek* for *Al-Imâm*, by which latter the reigning khalif would then be properly designated.

CCXXXVIII.

الملك العادل سيف الدين ابوبكر بن ايوب *AL-MALEK AL-ADEL SEIF-ED-DÎN ABÛ-BEKR BEN AYÛB,*

Fourth sultan of Egypt and Damascus.

I. AREA. الملك العادل سيف الدين ابوبكر بن ايوب — SILVER, An. 596-615.

Al-Malek Al-Adel Seif-ed-dîn Abú-bekr ben Ayúb.

MARGIN. Cuditur .... ضرب

II. AREA. الامام الناصر لدين الله امير المومنين

Al-Imâm Al-Náser ledîn-illah, impérator Fidelium. (1 dwt. 12½ gr).

Upon the death of *Salah-ed-dîn,* what were termed the Eastern provinces of his Syrian dominions fell to the lot of his brother *Malek Al-Adel Seif-ed-dîn* (sword of the faith, the *Saphadin* of our historians), who, not contented with this scanty portion, expelled his grand nephew, *Al-Mansúr,* from the throne of Egypt in 596,(1) and reigned there till 615, engaged in continual warfare with the Franks.(2)

This

(1) " *Saladinus* enim moriens (says Marinus Sanutus) XII. filiis suis terram divisit: nullamque terram fratri *Saphadino* reliquit, qui socius victoriarum fuerat. Hic terram propriam non habens, cum filio Saladini cui regnum Ægypti obvenerat, profectus est. Accidit verò ut prædictus filius Saladini, Ægypti soldanus, ad venationem iens, equo præceps caderet et periret. Tunc Saphadinus terræ sumit dominium." Gesta Dei per Francos, t. III. p. 202.

(2) It will be seen that a few years before this period there was an arrangement proposed (if we may credit the historian) by which this formidable enemy of the Christians was to become the husband of an English princess. " Au milieu de ces hostilités (en 587-1191) il y eut cependant des propositions de paix : mais on ne peut s'accorder sur les conditions. Il y en avoit une entr'autres, qui portoit qu'*Adel,* frère de *Salaheddin,* épouseroit la sœur du roi d'Angleterre (Richard); qu'en faveur de ce marriage, le sultan donneroit à son frère le royaume de Jérusalem, et que la reine sa femme auroit pour dot la ville d'Acre. Ces propositions parurent plaire également aux deux partis; mais elles furent traversées par les Evêques, qui s'opposèrent à cette alliance, à moins que le frère du sultan ne renonçât au Mahometisme." Marigny, Hist. des Arabes, t. IV. p. 297. The sister of Richard was certainly along with him in Palestine at this period, but I do not discover any original authority for the projected marriage. Neither Abu'lfeda nor Marinus Sanutus mention it. William of Tyre's History comes down only to the year 1184.

SILVER, An. 596-615.

This small dirhem is one of the rare specimens of silver money coined by the Ayubite race; but unfortunately neither the place nor the year is expressed. From its appearance, however, I should judge it to have been from the mint of Damascus or some other Syrian city, rather than from that of Egypt. The words composing the short inscriptions are arranged in an arbitrary manner, as noticed on a preceding copper coin. In Area I. the first and fourth lines are to be read after the second and third, and in II. the first two syllables of المومنين are at the bottom of the Area, and the latter two at the top. The workmanship is tolerably good, and the ornamented borders on both sides are rich. In the form, the characters differ but little from the modern, and even some of the diacritical points are correctly applied. The marginal interstices left by the twining of the borders contain some minute characters denoting the place of coinage and the date.

A coin with a similar inscription is described by Castiglioni, n° CLXXXVIII. Tav. XII. n° I. but the ornamental inclosures of the Areas are angular in his specimen, and in mine curved or wreathed.

CCXXXIX.

الملك العادل سيف الدين ابوبكر *AL-MALEK AL-ADEL SEIF-ED-DÎN ABÛ-BEKR.*

COPPER, An. 596-599.

I. AREA. الملك العادل سيف الدين
Al-Malek Al-Adel Seif-ed-dín.

MARGIN. .... ضرب هذا الفلس .....
..... cuditur hic obolus ....

II. AREA. *Abú-bekr ben Ayúb.* ابوبكر بن ايوب

MARGIN. .... ضرب هذا الفلس .....
تسعين وخمس مايه
.... cuditur hic obolus ..... (anno) 59(9)-1202.

Of

Of the date of this obolus we have the numerals for 590, without the units; but as *Al-Malek Al-Adel* began his reign in the tenth month of the year 596, it must have been struck between that year and the end of the century. The formulary words with which the sentence begins appear (by mistake) on both sides. There is a second, but very imperfect specimen. COPPER, An. 596-599.

CCXL.

الملك العادل سيف الدين *AL-MALEK AL-ADEL SEIF-ED-DÎN.*

I. AREA. الملك العادل سيف الدين ابوبكر ابن ايوب COPPER, An. 601 s. 611.

Al-Malek Al-Adel Seif-ed-dîn Abû-bekr ibn Ayûb.

MARGIN. سنه احد . . . .

. . . . . anno . . 1

II. AREA. الامام الناصر لدين الله امير المو . . .

Al-Imâm Al-Nâser ledîn-illah, imperator Fidel . . .

MARGIN. First symbol, imperfect.

No part of the date of this obolus is legible excepting the word احد one; but in the interval between the years 596 and 615 (the first and last of *Malek Al-Adel's* reign) that numeral can only occur in the numbers 601 and 611; in one or other of which, it follows, the coin must have been struck. The words in both the Areas are transposed, as was usual at this period, and in each, that which forms the upper line is to be read immediately after the third.

CCXLI.

CCXLI.

الملك العادل سيف الدين AL-MALEK AL-ADEL SEIF-ED-DÎN.

COPPER, An. 604.

I. AREA. *Al-Malek Al-Adel.* الملك العدل

MARGIN. ضرب بالرما سنه

Cuditur in *Ramâ*, anno

II. AREA. *Abú-bekr ben Ayúb.* ابوبكر بن ايوب

MARGIN. 604 (1207). اربع وستمايه

By the comparison of three specimens of this obolus, the date (604) as well as the place of coinage, are clearly ascertained. The latter appears to be رما *Ramâ*, a city of Palestine not far from Jerusalem, on the side of Bethlehem. Its particular position has not been well ascertained by geographers and historians, who frequently confound it with *Ramlah*, a town near *Jaffa*.(1) The species of character employed in the inscription is that known by the term of Karmatic, in which the upright strokes are of disproportionate length and ornamented in a peculiar manner.

(1) " C'est cette même ville *(Ramlah)* que nos voyageurs appellent *Rama*, par où passent les pélerins qui débarquent à Jafa, pour aller à Jerusalem." D'Herbelot. In one of D'Anville's maps of Palestine &c. *Rama* is improperly laid down on the northern side of Jerusalem. In others the name does not appear. In the valuable Notes to the translation of Alferganus by Golius, the mistake is pointed out in the following words: " Neque enim communi errore hic intelligenda est Rama illa, quæ natalibus, domo et tumulo Samuelis, nec non vaticinio Jeremiæ clara; quæque رامة Syriæ Arabibus, et راما æque ac Judæis scribitur, et paulò supra عمواس (sic) *Emaus* collocatur; ubi etiam nunc sepulchri Samuelis locum religiose visunt. Et sane, quæ Sacræ Literæ de Rama referunt, non potuerunt locum habere in mediis Philistæis. Est autem *Ramla* sub medio Palestinæ parallelo sita in fertilis soli amœna planicie, diei itinere ab Hierosolymis, dimidio quasi a Joppe." P. 140. The position of *Ramâ* is pointed out with sufficient precision in the passage of Scripture where it is said: " And she dwelt under the palm-tree of Deborah, between *Ramah* and Beth-el, in Mount Ephraim." Judges, IV. 6.

CCXLII.

الملك الكامل ابو المعالي محمد بن ابي بكر *AL-MALEK AL-KÂMEL ABÛ AL-MÒÂLI MUHAMMED BEN ABÎ-BEKR,*

Fifth sultan of Egypt.

GOLD, An. 627.

I. AREA. الملك الكامل ابو المعالي محمد بن ابي بكر بن ايوب

Al-Malek Al-Kâmel Abú Al-Mòáli Muhammed ben Abí-bekr ben Ayúb.

MARGIN. Second symbol.

II. AREA. الامام المنصور ابو جعفر المستنصر بالله امير المومنين

Al-Imâm Al-Mansúr Abu Jàfar Al-Mostanser-billah, imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN. بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ضرب هذا الدينار بالقاهرة سنة سبع وعشرين وستمايه

In nomine Dei misericordissimi cuditur hic denarius in *Al-Kâhirah,* anno 627 (1229). (2 dw. 21 gr.)

The son of *Malek Al-Adel,* named *Malek Al-Kâmel,* who succeeded to the throne of Egypt in 615, has here, in addition to his other titles, that of *Abú Al-Mòáli.* He is more usually styled *Al-Malek Al-Kâmel Abu'lfatha Nasr-ed-dín Muhammed;* and by the crusaders, who seem to have had little correct knowledge of their powerful adversaries, *Meledin.* The khalif of Baghdad is here also (contrary to the usual practice) described by his original, as well as by his titular name of *Al-Mostanser-billah.*

The more modern appellation of *Al-Káhirah* is given to the capital of Egypt, instead of *Al-Misr.*

CCXLIII.

CCXLIII. CCXLIV.

الملك الكامل *AL-MALEK AL-KÂMEL.*

COPPER, An. 623-635.

I. AREA. الملك الكامل محمد بن ابي بكر
Al-Malek Al-Kâmel Muhammed ben Abí-bekr.

MARGIN. ضرب ..... في سنه احد و (ثلثين)
وستمايه
Cuditur ..... anno 6(3)1 (1234).

II. AREA. الامام المستنصر بامرالله (بالله) امير
المومنين
Al-Imâm Al-Mostanser beamr-illah (*billah*) imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN. Illegible.

The khalifat of *Al-Mostanser* having commenced in 623, and the reign of *Al-Kâmel* ended in 635, this obolus must have been struck within that period, and as the unit احد is quite distinct upon one specimen (of three), and the century ستمايه upon another, the obliterated word must have been ثلثين 30, and the date of the coin 631.

Upon one of the specimens, and that, generally, the most perfect, an error has evidently been committed in annexing the words بامرالله *beamr-illah* instead of بالله *billah* to the title of the khalif. In two of the specimens the word المستنصر *Al-Mostanser* is contracted, to accommodate it to the space; if it be not, in fact, his proper (as distinguished from his titular) name of المنصور *Al-Mansûr*.

CCXLV.

CCXLV.

الملك الكامل *AL-MALEK AL-KÂMEL.*

I. AREA. *Al-Malek Al-Kâmel.* الملك الكامل — COPPER, An. 623-635.

MARGIN. (بن) ابوبكر بحلب

(*ben*) *Abu-bekr.* In *Haleb.*

II. AREA. *Al-Imâm Al-Mansûr.* الامام المنصور

MARGIN. *Abú Jàfar.* ابو جعفر

Upon the dinar of this prince already described, the original or proper names of the khalif were given in addition to his titular name of *Al-Mostanser.* On this obolus we have only the former, *Abú Jàfar Al-Mansûr.* No date appears.

CCXLVI.

الملك الصالح (اسمعيل) بن ابوبكر محمد *AL-MALEK AS-SÂLAH (ISMÀÎL) BEN ABÛ-BEKR MUHAMMED,*

Sixth Ayubite sultan of Damascus.

I. AREA. الملك الصالح بن ابوبكر محمد — COPPER, An. (635).

Al-Malek as-Sâlah ben Abú-bekr Muhammed.

II. AREA. الامام المستنصر بالله امير المومنين

Al-Imâm Al-Mostanser-billah, imperator Fidelium.

This obolus belongs, as its legend imports, to *Malek as-Sâlah Ismàîl* (as named by historians), one of the numerous sons of *Malek Al-Adel Seif-ed-dîn Abu-bekr,* who, upon the death of an elder brother, *Malek*

COPPER, An. (635). *Al-Ashraf*, succeeded to the throne of Damascus in the first month of 635, but in the course of the same year was compelled to relinquish it and to accept of an inferior principality, by *Malek Al-Kâmel*, also an elder and very powerful brother. In 643 he was reestablished in Damascus. The date of the coinage must, however, have been in the first year of his reign, as the khalif whose name is inscribed on it died in 640.

Of the Ayubite princes his predecessors in this capital of Syria, there are not any specimens in the Collection.

CCXLVII. CCXLVIII.

الملك الظاهر غياث الدين غازي بن الناصر صالح الدين *AL-MALEK ED-DHÂHER GHEIATH-ED-DÎN GHÂZI BEN AL-NÂSER SÂLAH-ED-DÎN,*

First Ayubite sultan of Haleb.

COPPER, An. 603.

I. AREA. *Al-Malek ed-Dhâher.* الملك الظاهر

MARGIN. ضرب . . . الفلس بحلب سنه ثلث

Cuditur (hic) obolus in *Haleb*, anno 3 (603-1206).

II. AREA. *Al-Imâm Al-Nâser.* الامام الناصر

MARGIN. Third symbol.

In the division of the empire possessed by *Sâlah ed-dîn*, amongst the branches of his family, Aleppo became the portion of his third son, *Malek ed-Dhâher*, who reigned there from 589 to 613, during the khalifat of *Al Nâser-ledîn-illah.*

The workmanship of this obolus and other coins of the same prince is neater than that of the Egyptian money of the same period. They are generally distinguished by an octangular or stellated Area on each side, with

with the Marginal inscription in the angles formed by the projecting points. Of the date nothing is expressed but simply the word "three," which is not an uncommon mode of abbreviation during the first few years of a century, and a doubt cannot exist as to its being intended to denote 603. COPPER, An. 603.

Another obolus differs from this only in the date, which is سبع وست مايه 607 (1210).

CCXLIX.—CCLI.

الملك الظاهر غازي *AL-MALEK ED-DHAHER GHAZI.*

I. AREA. الملك الظاهر غازي ابن يوسف بن ايوب SILVER, An. 610.

Al-Malek ed-Dhâher Ghâzi ben Yúsuf ben Ayúb.

MARGIN. ضرب بحلب (سنة) عشر (و) ستمايه

Cuditur in *Haleb* (anno) 610 (1213).

II. AREA. الامام الناصر احمد الملك العادل ابوبكر

Al-Imâm Al-Nâser Ahmed. Al-Malek Al-Adel Abú-bekr.

MARGIN. Third symbol.

(1 dw. 19½ gr. 1 dw. 20½ gr. 1 dw. 18½ gr.)

From the legend of this dirhem it appears that *Dhâher* not only acknowledged the spiritual authority of the khalif *Náser ledín-illah*, whose original name was *Abu'l Abbás Ahmed*, but also to have considered his uncle *Malek Al-Adel Abú-bekr*, who had added the kingdom of Egypt to his possessions, expelling from thence the grandson of his brother *Sálah-ed-dín*, as his paramount lord. He is here styled the son of *Yúsuf*, that being the proper name of *Sálah-ed-din*, his father.

Of the date, the words denoting 610 are sufficiently distinct, on the comparison of three specimens; but it may be doubted whether there is not, on one of them, also a word in the place of the units, which, as it was

SILVER, An. 610. was in the year 613 that this sultan died, must have been one, two, or three. A similar coin, with the date of 600, is described by Adler, Mus. Cuf. Borg. n°. XXVII. p. 56.

Castiglioni also describes a similar coin, but with the date of 615 (as he does another with a date not under 620) which raises a doubt as to the fact of *Dhâher Ghazi* having died in 613, as asserted by the historians.(1)

CCLII.

الملك الظاهر غازي *AL-MALEK ED-DHÂHER GHÂZI.*

SILVER, An. 600-613.

I. AREA. As in the preceding dirhem.

II. AREA. As in the preceding.

MARGIN. Third symbol, very imperfect. (22 gr.)

This half dirhem was intended to contain precisely the same legends as the dirhem that has been described; but its small size (if it has not been fraudulently reduced) did not admit of its receiving the inscriptions that should fill up the angles of the margins.

CCLIII.

الملك الظاهر غازي *AL-MALEK ED-DHÂHER GHÂZI.*

COPPER, An. 600-613.

I. AREA. الملك الظاهر غازي

Al-Malek ed-Dháher Gházi

MARGIN. Obliterated.

II. AREA.

(1) "Anno 613 obiit Malec ed Daher Gazi, filius Sultani Salah-ed-dini Josefi." Abulf. Ann. t. IV. p. 259. "Anno Arabum 613 obiit Malec Tahir Gazi filius Saladini Josephi." Abulfar. Chron. Syr. p. 469.

II. Area.	الامام الناصر امير المومنين *Al-Imâm Al-Nâser* imperator Fidelium.	Copper, An. 600-613.
Sides.	.. ست مايه .... (anno) 6..	
Margin.	Obliterated.	

In the form of its inscriptions, this obolus (of which there are duplicate specimens) differs much from those of the earlier part of *Dhâher's* reign. The names, however, of the sultan and of the cotemporary khalif are free from all doubt. Of the date, the century only is perceptible, the decimal and units, for which there seems to be space, being obliterated. The Margin shews some traces of a sentence that cannot now be read.

CCLIV.

الملك العزيز غياث الدين محمد بن الظاهر *AL-MALEK AL-AZÎZ GHEIATH ED-DÎN MUHAMMED BEN ED-DHÂHER,*

Second Ayubite sultan of Aleppo.

I. Area.	*Al-Malek Al-Aziz.* الملك العزيز	Copper, An. 621-622.
Margin.	.. ب سنه ا ... عشرين و ست ... ... anno 62(1) 1224.	
II. Area.	*Al-Imâm Al-Nâser.* الامام الناصر	
Margin.	Third symbol nearly obliterated.	

In this obolus of *Azîz* the son of *Dhâher* the date is nearly perfect. In connexion with عشرين 20 a space appears for units, and although an attempt has been made to deface them, we may faintly discern the characters of احد "one." Independently of this questionable evidence of vision,

COPPER, An. 621-622. vision, as the coin bears the name of the khalif *Al-Nâser*, who died in 622, it must have been struck either in that or the preceding year.

CCLV.

الملك العزيز غياث الدين *AL-MALEK AL-AZÎZ GHEIATH-ED-DÎN.*

COPPER, An. (622).

I. AREA. *Al-Malek Al-Aziz.* الملك العزيز

MARGIN. ..... سنة اثنين .....

..... anno (62)2 (1225).

II. AREA. *Al-Imâm ed-Dhâher.* الامام الظاهر

MARGIN. Third symbol.

The peculiarity of this obolus (of which there are two specimens) is its having been struck during the short khalifat of *Ed-Dhâher beamr-illah*, which was confined to a period of nine months, from the tenth month of 622 to the seventh of 623. Of the date on the coin there remains only the word for "two;" which, however, is sufficient to shew that it was struck in the former of those two years.

The same coin, but without any part of the date, is noticed by Assemani, Mus. Cuf. Naniano, n°. XCIV. p. CIII.

CCLVI.

الملك العزيز غياث الدين *AL-MALEK AL-AZÎZ GHEIATH-ED-DÎN.*

COPPER, An. 623-634.

I. AREA. *Al-Malek Al-Aziz.* الملك العزيز

II. AREA. *Al-Imâm Al-Mostanser.* الامام المستنصر

In

In the absence of positive dates, the succession of collateral names on the money serve as a guide to the relative periods of its coinage. Since the accession of this sultan, in 613, we here see the name of the third khalif acknowledged as the head of his religion, if not as his lord paramount. The khalifat of *Mostanser* began in 623, between which year and 634, when *Azîz* died, this obolus must have been struck. There is no trace of any inscription in the margins. COPPER, An. 623-634.

The word مستنصر *Mostanser* is contracted (of which there have been repeated instances) by omitting the letter س, and making one stroke serve for ت and ن, by placing over it three points.

CCLVII.

الملك الناصر صالح الدين يوسف بن العزيز محمد *AL-MALEK AL-NÂSER SÂLAH-ED-DÎN YÛSUF BEN AL-AZÎZ MUHAMMED,*

Third Ayubite sultan of Aleppo.

I. AREA. . . لك الناصر صالح الدنيا وا . . . . يوسف بن محمد SILVER, An. 640-656.

Al-Malek Al-Náser Sálah ed-duniya wa (-ed-dín) . . . Yúsuf ben Muhammed.

MARGIN. Obliterated.

II. AREA. الامام المستعصم بالله ابو احمد امير المومنين

Al-Imâm Al-Mostàsem-billah Abú Ahmed imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN. Obliterated. (1 dw. 9¾ gr.)

Upon the death of *Al-Azîz* he was succeeded by his son, only seven years of age, who bore the names of his celebrated great grandfather *Sálah-ed-dín.* No part of the date can be discovered, and in this, as well

SILVER, An. 640-656.

well as in many other instances, it seems to have been intentionally defaced, with the view, perhaps, of giving an arbitrary antiquity to the coin.

The khalif *Mostàsem* began his disastrous reign in 640, six years after the accession of *Al-Nâser*; prior to which the date could not have been; and as we are informed by Abu'lfeda that it was in 655 he sent to this young sultan a diploma of investiture,(1) it is a probable supposition that until that year the name of *Mostàsem* had not appeared upon the coinage of Aleppo, and that this dirhem was struck on the occasion. The fate of the two personages whose names are thus conjoined, is remarkable. In the year 656 the khalif was put to death, in his capital of Baghdad, by *Hulagu*, the grandson of *Jengiz-khan*, and in 659 the same fate attended the Syrian prince, who had thrown himself at the feet of his merciless conqueror.(2)

CCLVIII.

الملك الناصر صالح الدين يوسف *AL-MALEK AL-NÂSER SÂLAH-ED-ĐÎN YÛSUF.*

COPPER, An. 634-658.

I. AREA. *Al-Malek Al-Nâser* الملك الناصر

II. AREA. *ben Al-Malek Al-Azîz.* بن الملك العزيز

The legend of this obolus simply denotes that it was struck by *Al-Nâser* the son of *Al-Azîz*. Assemani, however, in describing a similar coin

(1) "Eodem anno (655) mittebat Chalifa Mostasem Syriæ domino, Malec en-Nasero Josepho, trabeam et torquem et investituræ diploma." Annales, t. IV. p. 549.

(2) "Après que les Mogoles se furent emparés de Bagdad, ils se répandirent en Syrie, et se rendirent les maîtres de la plus grande partie de ce pays. L'an 658 de l'Heg. de J. C. 1260, ils prirent Alep, et massacrerent tous les habitans. Naser avoit déja pris la fuite devant eux; ensuite il vint se rendre à Houlagou khan, auprès duquel il resta. Mais les Mogols ayant été défaits dans la Syrie, Houlagou le fit mourir." Hist. des Huns, t. I. p. 422.

coin (Mus. Cuf. Nan. n°. xcv. p. ciii.) considers it as belonging to the latter, and the name on the opposite side as that of *Al-Náser Dáoud*, a cotemporary sultan of Damascus, to whom this of Aleppo is supposed to have owed allegiance. Of such allegiance there is not, I believe, any historical proof, and as *Al-Náser Dáoud* succeeded to the throne at the age of twelve years, was under the tutelage of an aged female relative, and was deposed at the expiration of the second year (626), the fact of his paramount influence is not in itself probable. But a less disputable argument in favour of the reading here adopted, is, that immediately over the name of *Al-Malek Al-Azíz*, on II. a small character is perceptible that resembles the slight manner in which the word بن *ben*, filius, is frequently written, with only the curvature of a single stroke; of which no trace appears in Assemani's engraving. There are not grounds presented for any approximation to the date of the coin, other than the whole duration of the sultan's reign.

COPPER, An. 634-658.

CCLIX.

الملك الاشرف موسي *AL-MALEK AL-ASHRAF MÛSA,*

Ninth and last Ayubite sultan of Egypt.

I. AREA. ..... الملك الا (اشرف) موسي (بن) الملك
Al-Malek Al-(Ashraf?) Músa (ben) Al-Malek .....

COPPER, An. 6(50).

MARGIN. .....ه.. وستمايه
..... anno 6(50) 1252.

II. AREA. .....احمد الا.... الامام اله
..... لكامل.....
Al-Imâm Al-M ..... Ahmed ..... l-Kámel .....

MARGIN. ..... يوسف بن ايوب
..... *Yúsuf ben Ayúb.*

COPPER, An. 6(50).

The inscriptions on this copper coin have suffered so much as to leave it in some degree doubtful to what prince it should be assigned. The probabilities, however, are much in favour of its having been struck by *Malek Al-Ashraf Músa*, the last of the Ayubite race who sat on the throne of Egypt, and whose name of موسى *Músa* is distinct, although not so the surname or title. Being a descendant of *Malek Al-Kámel*,(1) the appearance of that name also adds strength to the supposition; and it may be observed that the general features of the coin strongly resemble the money of that renowned nephew of *Sálah-ed-dín*. With respect to the date we can only be assured of its being subsequent to the year 600 of the *hejrah*.

The name of احمد *Ahmed*, which presents itself in the line under the word الامام *Al-Imám*, may belong to the last of the *Abbassite* khalifs, *Mostasem-billah abú Ahmed*, who perished in 656. The expulsion of *Músa* took place in 652, the fourth year from his accession.(2)

(1) " Il étoit fils de Yousouf, fils d'un autre Yousouf surnommé Acsis, roi de l'Yemen, fils de Kamel Muhammed, fils d'Adel aboubekr, fils d'Ayoub pere de Saladin." Hist. des Huns, Liv. XXI. p. 122.

(2) In the Repertorium of Eichhorn (XI^r. Th. p. 35 und XVIII^r. Th. p. 74) a coin of *Malek as-Sálah Nejm ed-dín* is described with the date of 651; which is inconsistent with the authority of the Arabian historians. Abu'lfeda, speaking of this sultan, says: " Solidum tamen id Eiubo gaudium atque diuturnum non fuit. Paullo enim post e rebus humanis emigrandum ipsi erat, die Solis, decimo quarto mensis octavi hujus anni 647, postquam Ægypto per novem annos &c. imperasset... Erat Malec es-Saleh Eiub, filius Malec el-Cameli Muhammedis, &c. princeps auctoritate maxima pollens." Reiske endeavours to explain the contradiction by supposing that from motives of gratitude, *Ibeg* and the Mamluks continued the name of their old master on the coinage for years after his death. The conjecture is scarcely admissible. That, in the early part of a reign, and particularly at a disturbed period, they should still have worked with the old dies, is not improbable, nor without example in modern times; but that fresh dies should be cut with the name of the deceased prince alone, and the years progressively advanced, as if he were still living, is too violent a presumption. To doubt the correctness of the reading is more justifiable, and especially as Reiske had seen only an engraving of the coin. It may perhaps be discovered hereafter that the date, instead of 651, should prove to be 641, equally within the khalifat of *Mostâsem*; whose name of *Abu-Ahmed*, it may be remarked, is found here, as on the coin attributed to *Músa*.

MAMLÛK BAHRITE SULTANS OF EGYPT.

WHEN the country belonging to the people named Comanians, but subsequently inhabited by the Kapchak or Kipchak Tartars, was overrun by the Moghuls, a number of young captives were purchased by the Syrian traders and afterwards sold to the reigning sultan of Egypt, *Malek as-Sâlah Nejm-ed-dîn Ayûb.*(1) These he caused to be educated and trained to arms, in an island named *Rûda*, between *Fostat* and *Gizah*, on the river Nile, from whence, it is said, the corps obtained the appellation of مملوك بحري *Mamlûk Bahrî* or maritime purchased slaves. As soon as they were qualified for the service, he employed them as his body-guard: a situation that soon gave them considerable influence in a weak though despotic government, and enabled some, who were possessed of talents, to rise to the highest offices of the state. In the succeeding reign their dangerous power was fully displayed, The sultan *Al-Moadham Túrân-shâh* having, in the year 648-1250, defeated the French invading army at the battle of *Mansûrah* and made the king, Louis IX. prisoner, was induced to assent to a treaty for his ransom and the surrender of Damietta. Indignant at this having taken place without their participation, the Mamlûk chiefs rebelled against their sovereign, and put him to death. They then appointed one of their own body, named

(1) De Guignes speaks of these people as *Captchaqs*; but this seems to be a mistake; nor is it probable that Tartar slaves should have been a vendible commodity. "It is not correct, says Marco Polo, to call these people (inhabiting the country between the Caspian and the Euxine) Tartars, which in those days they were not, but of a race named Cumani, with a mixture of other nations;" and the History of Haitou the Armenian, after describing the country of the Cumani, generally, as extending to the Wolga, adds: "Et quidam sunt qui habitant circa montem *Cacas*, qui mirabiliter est magnus et altus;" Hist. Orient. cap. v. p. 5. This would identify them with the Circassians or other tribes inhabiting the foot of mount Caucasus, a fair and handsome race, that still supplies the slave-markets of Constantinople and Cairo.

named *Azz-ed-dín Ibek Turkománi*,(2) to the post of regent or administrator, whilst the throne was occupied for a short time, first by the widow of *Nejm-ed-dín*, and then by an Ayubite prince of another branch. In 652-1254 this ephemeral chief was deposed, and *Ibek* or *Ibeg* was proclaimed sultan. With him began the dynasty of *Mamlúk* Bahrites, which governed Egypt and the greater part of Syria, for about one hundred and thirty years.

MAMLÚK-BAHRITE SULTANS OF *EGYPT* AND *SYRIA*.

	A.H.	A.D.
1. *Al-Malek al-Mòazz Azz-ed-dín Ibeg al-Turkomâni al-Jáshankír* الملك المعز عزالدين ايبك التركماني الجاشنكير	648	1250
2. *Al-Malek al-Mansúr Núr-ed-dín Ali ben Ibeg* الملك المنصور نورالدين علي بن ايبك	655	1257
3. *Al-Malek al-Modhaffer Seif-ed-dín Kotuz* الملك المظفر سيف الدين قطز	657	1259
4. *Al-Malek ed-Dháher Rukn-ed-dín Abu'lfatha Bíbars al-Bundokdári* الملك الظاهر ركن الدين ابوالفتح بيبرس البندقداري	658	1260
5. *Al-Malek es-Sàid Náser-ed-dín Abu'l Màáli Muhammed Barkah khán* الملك السعيد ناصرالدين ابو المعالي محمد بركه خان	676	1277
6. *Al-Malek al-Adel Bedr-ed-dín Salámash ben Bundokdári* الملك العادل بدرالدين سلامش بن بندقداري	678	1279
7. *Al-Malek al-Mansúr Abu'l Màáli Seif-ed-dín Kelâuun al-Alfí*(3) الملك المنصور ابو المعالي سيف الدين قلاوون الالفي	678	1279

8. *Al-*

(2) *Ibek*, who was one of the slaves so purchased, is styled *Turkomâni*, although that name usually belongs to the tribes from Turkistan, who, under *Toghrul-beg* and the Seljukian dynasty, settled in Asia minor. The resemblance between the words *Cumani* and Turkomani may be accidental; but in the "Historia Iherosal. Jacobi de Vitriaco" we read: "Ab his autem septentrionalibus Saracenis, qui Comani nuncupantur, principium et originem, hi qui Turcomani dicuntur, et in terra Turcorum inhabitant, traxisse creduntur. Unde nomine composito a Turcis et Comanis appellantur Turcomani." Gesta Dei per Francos, t. II. p. 1061. See also Travels of Marco Polo, p. 53, and Note 116.

(3) In the treaty concluded between this sultan and the king of Arragon, in 689-1289, he is named *Abu'l-fat-ha Kelâuun Salehi*.

	A.H.	A.D.
8. *Al-Malek al-Ashraf Sálah-ed-dín Khalíl ben Kelâuun* الملك الاشرف صلاح الدين خليل بن قلاوون	689	1290
9. *Al-Malek al-Náser Muhammed ben Kelâuun* الملك الناصر محمد بن قلاوون	693	1293
10. *Al-Malek al-Ádel Zín-ed-dín Ketboghá* الملك العادل زين الدين كتبغا	694	1294
11. *Al-Malek al-Mansúr Husám-ed-dín Lájín* الملك المنصور حسام الدين لاجين	696	1296
9. *Al-Malek al-Náser Muhammed* restored	698	1298
12. *Al-Malek al-Modhaffer Bíbars al-Jáshankír* الملك المظفر بيبرس الجاشنقير	708	1308
9. *Al-Malek al-Náser Muhammed* again restored	709	1309
13. *Al-Malek al-Mansúr Seif-ed-dín Abu-bekr ben al-Náser* الملك المنصور سيف الدين ابوبكر بن الناصر	741	1341
14. *Al-Malek al-Ashraf Ala-ed-dín Kúchuk ben al-Náser* الملك الاشرف علا الدين كوچك بن الناصر	742	1341
15. *Al-Malek al-Náser Shahâb-ed-dín Ahmed ben al-Náser* الملك الناصر شهاب الدين بن الناصر	742	1342
16. *Al-Malek as-Sálah Emád-ed-dín Ismáil ben al-Náser* الملك الصالح عماد الدين اسمعيل بن الناصر	743	1342
17. *Al-Malek al-Kámel Zín-ed-dín Shábán ben al-Náser* الملك الكامل زين الدين شعبان بن الناصر	746	1345
18. *Al-Malek al-Modhaffer Zín-ed-dín Hájí ben al-Náser* الملك المظفر زين الدين حاجي بن الناصر	747	1346
19. *Al-Malek al-Náser Náser-ed-dín Hasan ben al-Náser* الملك الناصر ناصر الدين حسن بن الناصر	748	1347
20. *Al-Malek es-Sálah Sálah Sálah-ed-dín ben al-Náser* الملك الصالح صالح صالح الدين بن الناصر	752	1351
19. *Al-Malek al-Náser Hasan* restored	755	1354
21. *Al-Malek al-Mansúr Muhammed ben al-Modhaffer Hájí* الملك المنصور محمد بن المظفر حاجي	762	1360

22. *Al-*

	A.H.	A.D.
22. *Al-Malek al-Ashraf Shabán ben Hasan* or *Husein* الملك الاشرف شعبان بن حسن (حسين)	764	1362
23. *Al-Malek al-Mansúr Ali ben al-Ashraf* الملك المنصور علي بن الاشرف	778	1376
24. *Al-Malek as-Sálah Hájí ben al-Ashraf Shabán* الملك الصالح حاجي بن الاشرف شعبان	783	1381
who was deposed in	784	1382
and restored, and again finally deposed in	791	1389

CCLX.

الملك الظاهر ركن الدين ابو الفتح بيبرس *AL-MALEK ED-DHÂHER RUKN-ED-DÍN ABU'L FAT-HA BÎBARS,*

Fourth Mamlúk-Bahrite sultan of Egypt.

GOLD, An. 667.

I. AREA. Infrà, Leo currens.

العالي السلطان الملك الظاهر ركن الدنيا والدين
.. برس قسيم امير المومنين

Excelsus. Sultanus *Al-Malek ed-Dháher Rukn ed-duniya wa ed-dín Bíbars. Kasím* imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN. Cut off.

II. AREA. ضرب بالسكندريه لااله الا الله محمد
رسول الله ارسله بالهدي ودين الحق

Cuditur in Alexandria. Non est deus nisi Deus. Muhammed est legatus Dei, quem misit cum directione et religione vera.

MARGIN. سنه سبع وستين و.....

Anno (6)67. (1268.) (3 dw. 19½ gr.)

Sultan

Sultan *Al-Malek ed-Dhâher Bîbars* was a native of the country lying north-west of the Caspian, and at the age of fourteen had been sold as a slave, first at Damascus, and afterwards passed into the service of the Ayubite sultan of Egypt. By the murder of *Kotuz*, the third Mamluk sultan, he finally raised himself to the throne, and by the indefatigable activity of his character became formidable to the Christian powers, from whom he took their metropolitan city of Antioch, under circumstances of great atrocity. To him, chiefly, the title of Soldan of Egypt was applied in the histories of the crusades. He is also well known by the appellation of *Bundokdâri*, which he derived from one of his former masters.(1) GOLD, An. 667.

The weight of this gold coin, which bears his name, shews it to be a double dinar, although clipped or reduced in size. It is further distinguished by the figure of a lion, of no mean execution, at the bottom of the area; an emblem not observed on the coinage of any other Egyptian sultan.(2) The word العلي excelsus, the Highest, at the top of the same area, may be presumed to apply to the Divinity. It was struck in the city of Alexandria. Of the date, although the century is not legible, there can be no doubt. It is the ninth year of the reign of *Bîbars*, which lasted nine years longer and terminated in 676.

We

(1) "Here (at Giazza, say the Travels of Marco Polo) they received intelligence that the *Soldan* of Babylonia, named *Bundokdari*, had invaded the Armenian territory with a numerous army, and had overrun and laid waste the country to a great extent." P. 19. and n. 38. See also l'Histoire des Huns, liv. XXI. p. 133.

(2) If these northern captives, purchased as domestic slaves, were in fact Turkomâns, as the surname of the first Mamluc sultan implies, it is not surprising that one of them, when raised to a throne, should imitate the style of the Seljukian princes, whose emblem or device (تمغا *tamgha* in Tatar, as I learn from Prof. Fraehn, and رنگ *rang* in Persian) was a lion surmounted with the sun. This assumption of the lion by *Bîbars* is thus noticed by Makrizi: "Lorsque Almélik-aldhaher Roknedddin, Bibars Albondokdari Alsaléhi Alnadjmi fut monté sur le trône, ce prince, qui fut un des plus grandes monarques Musulmans, et un de ceux dont tous les souverains devroient étudier la conduite, fit fabriquer les dirhems *Dhahéris*, dont l'alloi fut reglé à 70 pour cent d'argent fin, et à 30 pour cent de cuivre. Il fit mettre sur ces dirhems ses armes, qui étoient la figure d'un lion." Traité des Monnoies Musulmans traduit de l'Arabe par A. J. Silvestre de Sacy. It would seem from hence that Makrizi had seen the silver only, (of which a specimen will follow) and not the gold coin of this sultan.

GOLD, An. 667. We have here the first instance of the Area being occupied with the second symbol, which had invariably been found in the Margin of the coin.

The name of *Kasîm* is that of a nominal khalif whom *Bîbars* had set up, or, whose pretensions he allowed, upon the extermination, by the Moghuls, of the Abbassite race in Baghdad. He bestowed on him the title of *Al-Mostanser-billah Abu'l Kasîm Ahmed*, and in return received from this pageant the investiture of his own dominions.(3)

CCLXI.

الملك الظاهر ركن الدين ابوالفتح بيبرس *AL-MALEK ED-DHÂHER RUKN-ED-DÎN ABU'L FAT-HA BÎBARS.*

SILVER, An. 659-676.

I. AREA. Infrà, leo ambulans (passant).

... لطان الملك .. اهر ركن الدنيا والدين ... رس

قسيم امير المومنين

.... Sultanus *Al-Malek ed-Dhâher Rukn-ed-duniya wa ed-dîn Bîbars. Kasîm* imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN. Defaced.

II. AREA.

(3) "Hoc anno (659) novus constitutus est Chalifa, est resucitatum, sed sinistro successu, dignitatis nomen, quod per triennium, ab anno 656 inde siluerat, quo nempe Tatari capta Bagdado Mostasasum occiderant una cum omne ejus familia, finemque Chalifatui Abbasidarum fecerant. Scilicet adducebant Arabes aliquot scenitæ Misram hominem aliquem colore nigrum (vestibus indutum nigris), Ahmed dictum, quem asseverabant filium Imam Daheri, filii Imami Naseri, esse, et sub irruptionem Tartarorum clam ex augusto, quod Bagdadi erat, palatio aufugisse. Asserti hujus seu veritatem, seu fraudem exploraturus deponebat Malec ed-Daher Bibars commissionem aliquam numero magnatum confectam ..... Quo facto legitimus Abbasida declarabatur iste Ahmed et Chalifa salutabatur, primum a Malec ed-Dahero Bibarso, tum ab aulicis et plebe, titulumque accipiebat Mostansari billah Abu'l-*Casemi* Ahmedis." Annal. Mosl. t. IV. p. 625. Hist. des Huns, liv. XXI. p. 136. Abu'lfeda spells the word قاسم *Kâsim*, but it is indisputably قسيم *Kasîm* on two coins.

II. Area.	Illegible.	Silver, An. 659-676.
Margin.	Defaced. (1 dw. 16½ gr.)	

In this dirhem of the same sultan, his own names and that of his khalif are nearly perfect. The date is wanting, and we can only say that it was struck subsequently to the acknowledgment of the latter personage in 659. The inscription of Area II. although not obliterated, is particularly obscure. There is in it the appearance of the word ضرب "cuditur," followed by characters that resemble بلارحا, which may belong to the name of the place of coinage. The figure of the lion, that on the dinar was in the action of running or bounding, is here ambulant or walking.

CCLXII.

الظاهر ركن الدين بيبرس *ED-DHÂHER RUKN-ED-DÎN BÎBARS.*

I. Area.	Leo ambulans (passant). السلطان الملك الظاهر Sultanus *Al-Malek ed-Dhâher.*	Copper, An. 658-676.
II. Area.	Third symbol.	

This *fels* or obolus in like manner exhibits the device of *Bîbars*, which we have thus seen in the three metals. The inscription (on three specimens) contains neither place nor date.

CCLXIII.

CCLXIII.

الملك المنصور ابوالمعالي *AL-MALEK AL-MANSÛR AḆU'L-MÀÂLI,*

Seventh sultan?

SILVER, small, An. 677-687.

I. AREA. Third symbol. ؟ صر . . بحلب

II. AREA. الملك الا . . . . ابو ال . بع . . . سنه سبع . . . .

Al-Malek al- . . . Abu-al . . . . Anno . . 7 . (1 dw. 6½ gr.)

The external evidence of this small silver coin having belonged to the Mamluk dynasty is unquestionable, whilst at the same time the imperfection of its legend occasions considerable doubt as to the prince by whom it was struck; little more than the characters ابوال *Abu'l* appearing to distinguish it from any others of the same class. These, however, are sufficient to render it probable that it ought to be referred to one or other of the two sultans (5th and 7th in the list) who bore the title of *Abu'l-Màâli*, and consequently that the date should be either 677 or 687. The name of the place of coinage is very uncertain. The figure, resembling a flower-pot, in the centre of Area II. is the *tamgha* or device of the sovereign.

CCLXIV.

الملك الناصر ناصرالدين محمد *AL-MALEK AL-NÂSER NÂSER-ED-DÎN MUHAMMED,*

Ninth sultan.

SILVER, An. 693-741.

I. AREA. لااله الا الله محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدي

Non est deus nisi Deus. Muhammed est legatus Dei, quem misit cum directione.

II. AREA.

II. Area. السلطان الملك الناصر ناصرالدنيا و . . .
محمد بن الملك . . . .

Silver, An. 693-741.

Sultanus *Al-Malek Al-Nâser Nâser-ed-duniya wa . . . Muhammed ben Al-Malek . . .* (2 dw. 14½ gr.)

Although no date is apparent, little doubt can be entertained of this silver coin having been struck by the sultan named in the list *Malek-Al-Nâser Muhammed*, whose reign, however interrupted, was of extraordinary duration. From the throne which he ascended in 693–1293 he was twice deposed, but afterwards held it for a period of thirty-two years, and died in 741–1341. In his titles, it is true, the word *Al-Nâser* is not repeated, as we find it on the coin, nor does it occur in any other than those of *Al-Malek Al-Nâser Nâser-ed-dîn Hasan*, the son of the former; but the omission may have been an error on the part of the annalist. After the words *ben Al-Malek* a character appears that is probably the initial one of the name of قلاون *Kelâduun.*

The annexing to the Third symbol some words with which the Second commences, in the area of the coin, is peculiar to the money of this dynasty. At the top of the same area we may discern the characters مام, terminating an almost obliterated word.

CCLXV.—CCLXVIII.

الملك النصر نصرالدين حسن *AL-MALEK AL-NASR NASR-ED-DÎN HASAN,*

Nineteenth sultan, and others.

I. Area. Third symbol.

Gold, small, An.

II. Area. السلطان الملك النصر نصر . . . ين حسن

Sultanus *Al-Malek Al-Nasr Nasr-ed-dîn Hasan.*

(2 dw. 4½ grs.)

I. Area.

Gold, small, An.

I. Area. Third symbol.

II. Area. ... طان .. ملك الاشرف .. ق بن العو ..

Sultanus *Al-Malek al-Ashraf . . . ben al . . .*

(2 dw. $4\frac{1}{2}$ grs.)

I. Area. Third symbol.

II. Area. السلطان الملك الا . . . . ا فتح

Sultanus *Al-Malek al-A . . . . . Fat-ha.*

(2 dw. $3\frac{1}{4}$ grs.)

I. Area. Third symbol.

II. Area. Illegible.

(2 dw. $4\frac{1}{4}$ grs.)

The resemblance in the style of inscription and form of the characters on these four gold coins, to those which precede, leaves no doubt of their belonging to the dynasty of Mamluk-bahrites, although their class was not ascertained until long after the others had been described. The first of them appears to have been struck by the nineteenth sultan, *Al-Nasr Hasan*, the son of *Al-Nâser Muhammed.*(1) The name of *Al-Ashraf*, which appears on the second, occurs repeatedly in the list, and consequently the individual to whom it belonged is in some degree uncertain, but from its near affinity to the coin of *Hasan* and their precise correspondence in weight, they must be of the same period, and this should be referred to *Al-Malek al-Ashraf Shâbân*, the twenty-second sultan.

With respect to the third and fourth I am unable to make a probable conjecture. The specimens have suffered little injury from time and use, and the imperfection in the legends arises chiefly from the surfaces being too confined to receive the whole of the impression. The words ابوالفتح *Abu-*

(1) It must be observed at the same time, that, instead of being a proper name, the words would bear the reading of النصر نصراني *al-nasr nasrâni* 'protector Christianorum.'

Abu al-fat-ha, which imperfectly appear on the former, signify 'the father of victory' or the victorious, and on the latter, the characters كلم or كلمة express emphatically "verbum, dictio, verbum (Dei)." GOLD, small, An.

CCLXIX.

الملك المنصور محمد *AL-MALEK AL-MANSÛR MUHAMMED,*

Twenty-first sultan.

I. AREA. السلطان الملك المنصور صلاح الدنيا والدين
محمد الملك الطو(حاني) الملك الناصر GOLD, An. 764.

Sultanus *Al-Malek Al-Mansûr Salâh ed-duniya wa ed-dîn Muhammed Al-Malek Al-Tuhâni Al-Malek Al-Nâser.*

TOP and BOTTOM LINES. ضرب بالقاهرة سنه اربع
وستين و سبعمايه

Cuditur in *Káhirah* anno 764 (1362).

II. AREA. وما . . . النصر و عبد الله لا اله الا الله محمد رسول
الله ارسله بالهدي و دين الحق ليظره علي الدين كله

. . . Cultor et servus Dei. Non est deus nisi Deus. Muhammed est legatus Dei quem misit cum directione et religione vera, ut eam extolleret super religiones omnes. (4 dw. 11 gr.)

In the obscurer periods of the history of this dynasty the oriental writers seem not to be so precise as we have generally found them, in regard to the names and titles of its princes, and unfortunately Abu'l-feda's Annals, which have hitherto proved so useful a guide, fail us at the year 729–1328, long before the reign of this sultan, which began in 762, and ended, by his being deposed, in 764, the date of the coin.

In addition to the names of *Al-Mansûr Muhammed* and *Al-Nâser*, in which the legend corresponds with history, De Guignes gives him the title

GOLD, An. 764. title of *Al-Màdli*, which does not appear on the money, where, on the other hand we find characters which seem to be intended for the name of صلاح *Salâh*, and others that admit of being read الطوحاني *Al-Tuhâni*. It is not improbable indeed that some of the titles may have belonged to the *atâbeg* or regent, named ايل بغا *Il-Boghâ*, who in this year removed his master from the throne to a prison.

At the top of Area II. before the words *Al-Nasr wa Abd-allah*, "cultor et servus Dei," the characters ومالا present themselves, but their import is not obvious. This rare specimen of a double dinar of full weight and in complete preservation, was procured in Egypt by Lord Valentia, now Earl of Mountnorris. With the exception of a few defective and rude specimens, in copper, recently described by Castiglioni (N. ccxxx &c. Tab. XIII. n. 7. 8. 9), I am not aware that any coins of these *Mamlúk*-bahrite sultans have been hitherto noticed.

MOGHUL-

MOGHUL-TARTAR OR *IL-KHANIAN* DYNASTY OF PERSIA.

UPON the accession of *Mangu-kaan*, the grandson of *Jengiz-khân*, to the imperial throne of the Moghul-Tartars, he appointed his brothers to the command of his numerous armies. *Kublai* he employed in completing the subjugation of *Khatâi* or northern China, and *Hulâgu Il-Khân* was sent to confirm and extend his dominion in the southern and western parts of Asia. About the year 653–1255 the latter crossed the Oxus, and in 656–1258 possessed himself of the city of Baghdad, put to death the khalif *Al-Mostasem*, and thereby annihilated the race of the Abbassites. He afterwards subdued Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Syria, Persia, and other adjacent countries, and fixed his principal residence at *Tabrîz* or Tauris, in the Persian province of *Adherbijan*.

By the native historians he is usually styled the great king or the king of kings, although until the death of his elder brother *Mangu-kaan* in 657–1259, he acted only as his representative, and even professed to continue a nominal allegiance to *Kublai*, who was considered as the head of the family. There is reason indeed to believe, notwithstanding some indications to the contrary, that he never assumed the title of قاآن *kaan* (first used by *Oktai*), which signifies, as we are told, the *khân* of *khâns*, although between that word and خان *khân*, there seems to be no radical affinity. In his dominions of Persian and Babylonian Irak, however, he was absolute lord. His death took place in the year 663–1264, according to Abu'lfeda, or 664–1265, according to the more nearly cotemporary authority of Abu'lfaraj.(1) From his surname of ايلخان *Il-khân* the daynasty acquired the appellation of Il-khanian.

(1) " Anno 663 obiit maledictus Tartarorum princeps, Hulacu, filius Tului, filii Genkizchani, prope Marragam." Ann. Mosl. t. v. p. 15. " Anno C. 1265, diebus jejunii ineuntis (beginning of Lent)

MOGHULS OF THE RACE OF JENGIZ-KHÂN, OR IL-KHANIAN DYNASTY, WHO REIGNED IN PERSIA.

		A.H.	A.C.
1.	*Hulâgu* or *Hulâku Il-Khân* هولاقو ايلخان, the son of *Tulwi* or *Tuli* تولوي, the son of *Jengîz-khân* جنگيز خان, became sovereign of Persia and the adjoining countries upon the death of his brother *Mangu-kaan* منگو قاان, emperor of all the Tartars	657	1259
2.	*Abâga* or *Abâka Il-Khân* the son of *Hulâgu* اباقا ايلخان بن هولاقو	663	1264
3.	*Ahmed Kaan*, the seventh son of *Hulâgu* احمد قاان بن هولاقو. Previously to becoming a mussulman, his name was *Nikudâr* or *Tikudâr Oglan.*	681	1282
4.	*Arghûn Kaan* the son of *Abâga* ارغون قاان بن اباقا	683	1284
5.	*Kai-Khatu Kaan* the son of *Abâga* كيخاتو قاان بن اباقا	690	1291
6.	*Baidu Kaan* the son of *Targhih* fifth son of *Hulâgu* بيدو قاان بن طرغيه. His reign lasted only a few months.	694	1294
7.	*Ghâzân Kaan Mahmûd* the eldest son of *Arghûn* غازان قاان محمود بن ارغون	694	1294
8.	*Gheiath-ed-dîn Au Gaptu* (or *Aul-Japtu*) *Khodabandah Muhammed*, third son of *Arghûn* غياث الدين اوگاپتو (اولجپتو) خدابنده محمد بن ارغون	703	1303
9.	*Abu Sàîd Bahâdar-khân*, the son of *Au Gaptu* ابو سعيد بهادر خان بن اوگاپتو	716	1316
	After the death of this king, in 736-1335, the princes of the Il-Khanian dynasty ceased to be independent. Some others are enumerated, but without the dates of their reigns.		
	Anûshirwân انوشروان was on the throne about the year	747	1346

Lent) migravit ex orbe rex regum Hulachus, cujus sapientiæ, magnanimitati factisque præclaris nihil comparandum est." Chron. Syr. p. 567. It is curious to observe the different light in which the character of this barbarian conqueror was viewed by the Mahometan prince and the Syrian patriarch.

CCLXX. CCLXXI.

هولاقو ايلخان *HULÂGU IL-KHÂN,*

First Moghul king of Persia.

SILVER, An. 658.

I. AREA. لا اله الا الله وحده لاشريك له محمد رسول الله

Non est deus nisi Deus unicus, cui non est socius. Muhammed est legatus Dei.

MARGIN. For the most part illegible.

Rex regnorum..... .... ملك الملك

II. AREA. قاان الاعظم هولاقو ايلخان المعظم

Kaan maximus. *Hulágu Il-khán* illustris.

MARGIN. ..... سنه ثمان و خمسين و ستمايه

Anno 658 (1260). (1 dw. 4 gr. 1 dw. 12 gr.)

The only coin of this distinguished conqueror hitherto described (as far as I am aware) is one in the Göttingen Collection, by T. Ch. Tychsen (Comment. de num. Selgiuc. et Mogol. p. 107. n°. XIII.), who speaks of it as being in a very deteriorated condition, but does not say of what metal. So far as his legend has been made out, it agrees, generally, with mine; but the important word قاان is wanting, and he conjectures that سلطان sultanus might have occupied the space. This latter title would indeed have been more applicable to one who acted as the representative of a superior than the former, which implies absolute supremacy; and upon this principle the opinion may be maintained that the words قاان الاعظم *Kaan* maximus are not the attributes of *Hulágu* himself, but of his paramount lord, *Mangú kaan,* to whom he paid unequivocal allegiance, although to the next Tartar emperor it was more nominal than real.(1) The repetition also of the word الاعظم or المعظم strongly

 corroborates

(1) De Guignes is correct in his assertion that, "il *(Houlagou-khan)* n'étoit pas cependant un roi absolu," but is mistaken when he proceeds to say, "on ne mettoit pas son nom sur les monnoies,

Silver, An. 658.

corroborates the supposition of a second personage being designated. The word ایلخان *Il-khán*, following the name of *Hulâgu*, may be understood to signify Commander-in-chief of an army, or Governor of a province, but seems to have been considered as a part of the proper name of that individual, which was also affected by some of his descendants, and became an appellative of the dynasty.

Upon two specimens of the coin the name of *Hulâgu* or *Hulâku* is written with the different orthography of هولاقو and هولاكو, but the former is the more usual mode; and it must have occurred to every person who has studied the geography of the western parts of Asia, that in the names of places the Arabic guttural ق *k* is frequently pronounced as a hard *g*; of which that of دنقله *Dongola*, on the Nile, is a familiar instance. Hence perhaps it is that the pronunciation of *Hulâgu* has more generally prevailed than that of *Hulâku*, and thus also the name of ابانا *Abâka* or *Abâga*, his son, is by Abu'lfeda written ابغا *Abagha*.

The characters that should express the place of coinage are too indistinct to be read on either specimen; but certainly the word is not تبريز *Tabrîz*, as Tychsen finds it, nor is it to be sought for at the bottom of the Area, but in the Margin. In the date the units are distinct, and the decimal admits of little doubt, but the century is obscure. His reign, however, being comprised between the years 657 and 663, we need not hesitate to read it 658. At the top of Area I. is a trifurcated symbol that may have been the تمغا *tamgha* or device of this Moghul chief. At the bottom, on one specimen, is a star, but on the other, a word, in small characters, that seems to be خلد 'æternet,' In the Margin (second specimen) may be distinguished the words شاه ملك *Shâh Malek*.

It has been generally understood that *Hulâgu*, under the influence of a favourite wife, had shewn more disposition to embrace the Christian than

noies, mais celui de *Mangou-khan*, dont il n'étoit regardé que comme le lieutenant." T. I. p. 282. D'Herbelot falls into the opposite extreme, when he says: "Ce fut dans ce tems-là qui est l'an 657 de l'Hegire, que Holagu succéda, dans l'Empire des Mogols à Mangu Caán son frère." Article, Holagu. It was Kublai who succeeded to the imperial throne. Castiglioni makes the just observation, that, "Sebbene diversi principi della stirpe di *Gengiskhan* si fossero stabiliti nelle varie parti di quel vasto impero, pure le monete di questo periodo mostrano che *Mangou* ne era considerato assoluto Sovrano." P. XXXII.

than the Mahometan faith, and the circumstance of his having put to death the last of the khalifs, shews him to have held the Prophet and his successors in little estimation; but from political motives he may subsequently have inclined to the religion of the majority of his new subjects, and it must be inferred from the profession of faith on his coinage, that he had sanctioned the opinion of his being a regular Moslem. SILVER, An. 658.

CCLXXII.

اباقا ايلخان بن هلاقو *ABÂGA* OR *ABÂKA IL-KHAN BEN HULÂGU,*

Second Moghul king of Persia.

COPPER, An. 663-681.

I. AREA. Effigies principis pedibus decussatim sedentis, manibus sustinentis lunam crescentem.

SIDES. Anno tertio .... سنه ثلاث

MARGIN. Illegible.

II. AREA. ..... قاان الاعظم اباقا ايلخان المعظم

* *Kaan* maximus. *Abâga Il-khân* illustris.

MARGIN. ..... الله محمد رسول الله صلي الله علي

..... Deus. Muhammed est legatus Dei, cui sit pax Dei.

This copper coin of *Abâga*, the son of *Hulâgu*, was at first assorted amongst those of the Atabeg dynasty, from the resemblance of its very singular emblematic figure to that of the year 627, from the mint of Mosul, during the reign of *Bedr-ed-dîn Lûlû*. Of the date nothing is distinctly legible excepting the units, the remaining numeral words, of which there are faint traces near the Margin, being corroded; but as this Tartar prince succeeded his father in 663 and died in 681, the coinage must have taken place either immediately upon his accession, or in the year 673. The artists whom the conquerors found on the spot, they continued

COPPER, An. 663-681.

tinued to employ, and the consequence was that a device of the extinguished dynasty was renewed upon the money coined at Mosul under the new race.

What has been observed with respect to the title of قاان *kaan* on the dirhem last described, will apply equally to this inscription, where it may be considered as belonging rather to the supreme head of the family, than to *Abâga-Il-khân* his feudatory.(1)

The reading of n. CXLIV. in the Monete Cufiche, p. 157, being ملك و قاان عظم حلاو ' *Il Re e Kaan grande Holagu,*' would, I am aware, make strongly against the supposition of a second person in the legend of this; but I have already (p. 174) expressed my doubt of its correctness, and suggested that the true reading (as I find it on a similar coin, of the year 656) is منكو قاان *Mangu* or *Manku kaan;* and further, that the characters حلاو are not likely to have been intended to form a part of the name of هولاقو *Hulâgu.*

I have not succeeded in my endeavours to read the words that follow المعظم, on this coin of *Abâga,* although they are indistinct only, not obliterated; and the same difficulty appears to have been encountered by Castiglioni in his examination of the Milan specimen, n°. CXCIX.

CCLXXIII.

كيخاتو قاان بن اباقا *KAI-KHATU KÂAN BEN ABÂGA,*

Fifth Moghul king of Persia.

SILVER, An. 690?

I. AREA. First symbol. سوال سنه تسعين و ستمايه
(Mense) *Sawâl* anno 690 (1291).

II. AREA. قاان العادل *Kaan* (imperator) justus.
(1 dw. $13\frac{8}{4}$ gr.)

CCLXXIV.

(1) No weak argument for the propriety of this distinction may be drawn from the remark made by T. C. Tychsen, in describing a coin of *Ghâzan,* the son of *Arghûn,* that he styles himsef خان *khân* only, and not قاان *kaan,* as his predecessors (according to the common opinion) had done. De num. Selg. et Mogol. p. 101.

CCLXXIV.

غياث الدين اوگاپتو *GHEIATH-ED-DÎN AU-GAPTU.*

I. Area. First symbol. محرم سنه ٧١٤ (Mense) *Muharram*, anno 714 (1314). Silver, An. 714?

II. Area. قاان العادل *Kaan* (imperator) justus. (1 dw. 13 gr.)

The dates on these two coins, if correctly ascertained, would shew them to belong to two different and not successive reigns, the one of which began in 690 and ended in 694, the other, included between 703 and 716; but the strong resemblance of their brief inscriptions, as well as of their type generally, induces the belief that they must have been the coinage of the same Moghul prince, and that there is some misapprehension with regard to the dates, given, as they are, upon the later specimen in numeral figures, and on the earlier, in words at length, but by no means free from ambiguity. Of two coins nearly similar, described by T. C. Tychsen, he reads on the one the date of 650 and month of *Muharram*, and on the other, that of 674 or 694, with the month of the first *Rabid*.(1) The place of coinage he thinks to have been *Teflis*, the capital of Georgia. The superfluous practice of adding the name of the month to the scarcely legible date of the year, seems to have been first affected by these new converts to islaemism.

The imperial title of *Kaan*, which, on the money of *Hulâgu*, was probably intended to designate the sovereign of all the Tartar tribes, may here, perhaps, be assumed by the king of Persia himself, as the allegiance to the head of the family became considerably weakened upon the death of *Mangu* in 658-1259, and was no longer thought of after that

(1) " In alio simillimo numo est ربيع الاول سنه اربع سبعين ستمايه Rabia primo anni 674, satis perspicue scriptum, nisi quod fortasse تسعين legi possit. Utut sit, hic numus sub Abaca, aut si 694 legas, sub Caichtu Can cusus est." De num. Selg. et Mogol. p. 106.

SILVER, An. 714? that of *Kublaï* in 694–1294. It must, however, be recollected that *Arghún*, the fourth king of this race, who reigned from 683–1284 to 690–1291, sent a deputation to the latter, as his superior lord, with the peculiar request that he might be allowed to receive a wife from amongst the princesses of the blood royal; one of whom, in compliance with his wishes, left the court of China in the year 692–1292, and upon her arrival in Persia, was presented to the eldest son, although not the immediate successor of the deceased king. See Travels of Marco Polo, p. 34.

Castiglioni reads the date of 670 and month of *Dhulhajja* upon a similar coin in the Milan Collection, which should consequently belong to the reign of *Abâga* the son of *Hulâgu*.

CCLXXV.

غازان قاان محمود *GHÂZÂN KÂAN MAHMÛD,*

Seventh Moghul king of Persia.

SILVER, An. 69(6).

I. AREA. Third symbol. .... ضرب

Cuditur in ....

ANGLES. تسعين ست مايه .....

(Anno) .... 69(6)-1296.

SIDES. صلي الله عليه

Ei sit Deus propitius.

II. AREA. Mogul or Uigur characters.

غازان محمود

Ghâzân Mahmûd. (16 grs.)

However unpromising in its appearance this small silver coin of *Ghâzan* the son of *Arghún* may be, it is to its possessor one of the most interesting

interesting in the Collection, inasmuch as it belongs to that prince into whose hands Marco Polo and the companions of his adventurous voyage, resigned the Chinese princess committed to their care by the emperor *Kublaï Kâan*, as the intended spouse of *Arghûn*. Of the date, a portion containing the units is obliterated, and only the numeral words denoting 690 remain; but as a coin in most other respects similar, and bearing the date of 696, is described by T. C. Tychsen, we cannot err materially in referring this to the same year. It is consequently somewhat later than the period of the Venetian's arrival in Persia, which took place about the end of 693 or beginning of 694 (1294), whilst *Ghâzan* commanded an army on the frontier of *Khorasân*, and the throne was filled either by his uncle *Kai Khatu* or by an intruder on the succession named *Baidu*, who held it only a few months. In the course of 694 he was enabled to assert his hereditary rights. SILVER, An. 69(6).

The name of the place of coinage, on the Göttingen specimen, is *Tabrîz*, the usual capital of the early Moghul princes. On this, the characters, however minute and obscure, are evidently quite different, and seem to resemble امركان, or may perhaps be intended for اوجان *Aujân*, a town in the Persian province of *Aderbaijân*. Of six or seven lines forming the legend of II., one only, containing the name of the king, can be recognised as Arabic. The others are in the Uigurian character, adopted by the Moghuls, and being rudely formed on the coin, an attempt to decipher them would be equally difficult and uncertain.

CCLXXVI.

غياث الدين اوگاپتو (خدابنده) محمد *GHEIATH-ED-DÎN AU GAPTU (KHODABANDAH) MUHAMMED,*

Eighth Moghul king of Persia.

I. AREA. لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله علي ولي الله SILVER, An. (710).

Non est deus nisi Deus. Muhammed (est) legatus Dei: Ali amicus s. dilectus Dei. (*Shîàh* symbol).

SILVER, An. (710).

MARGIN. (اللهم . من علي) محمد و علي و الحسن و . . . . و محمد
و جعفر و موسي و علي و محمد و علي و الحسن و محمد

. . . . . *Muhammed* et *Ali*, et *al-Hasan*, et (*al-Husein*), et *Muhammed*, et *Jafar*, et *Músa*, et *Ali*, et *Muhammed*, et *Ali*, et *al-Hasan*, et *Muhammed*.

II. AREA. ضرب في دولة المولي السلطان الاعظم مالك (رقاب الامر)
غياث الدنيا و الدين اوگاپتو سلطان محمد خلد الله ملكه

Cuditur sub imperio magnifico sultani maximi regis . . . . . *Gheiath-ed-duniya wa ed-dín Au-Gaptu* sultanus *Muhammed*, cujus regnum æternet s. conservet Deus.

MARGIN. ضرب تفليس سنه . . . . عشر . . . .

Cuditur in *Teflis* anno . 10 (710-1310). (1 dw. 6 gr.)

Descriptions of coins nearly similar to this, of *Au-Gaptú* or *Al-Japtú*, third son of *Arghún-kán*, have already been given by Assemani (Mus. Cuf. Nan. n. cvi.), by O. G. Tychsen (Introd. in rem. num. Muh. p. 102.), and by T. C. Tychsen, (de Num. Cuf. Comm. II. p. 11. et aliter); yet with all the assistance derived from the acumen of these three learned persons, together with that of M. de Sacy, whose attention had been drawn to the subject, and with the advantage of two specimens (of different sizes) in this Collection, I have not satisfied myself with respect to some difficulties that occur in the inscription.

The Area of I. contains the usual symbol of the *Shiàh* sect, or followers of *Ali*, whose tenets this Moghul prince evidently favoured, although his apprehensions from the orthodox party amongst his subjects, obliged him to act inconsistently, as will appear hereafter. In the Margin are found the names of the twelve *Imáms*, revered by that sect as the successive and only legitimate depositaries of their holy law. These names, which should properly commence with that of *Ali*, are here immediately preceded (in the circular inscription) by the name of *Muhammed*, which is itself preceded by two or three words partially defaced in my specimens, and, as it would seem, in all others that have been the subject of examination. Of these expletive words Assemani takes no notice,

notice, nor does O. G. Tychsen; but by T. C. Tychsen they are read اللهم مرس محمد وعلي "h. e. per Deum ..... Muhammed et Ali, &c.," shewing at the same time, by this imperfect translation, that his conjecture did not elicit any intelligible meaning. In another place, however, he adds: "Verba obscura inscriptionis marginalis cl. de Sacy ingeniose conjicit legenda esse 'Imami inter الايمة من بين محمد وعلي (Mohammedem prophetam et Mohamed Mohdi sunt) Mohammed et Ali, &c.' Scripta fuisse primùm, ut mos est, mera XII. Imamorum nomina, tum vacuo, quod supererat inter primum et ultimum nomen, spatio e toreuta addita fuisse verba: 'Imami inter.' De priore voce dubito, clari enim mihi videntur ductus اللهم in ipso numo; reliquis gratus assentior." De num. Arab. Hisp. p. 92. SILVER, An. (710).

After the most attentive inspection I am compelled to say that I do not consider either of the above readings, any more than that of Castiglioni, (اللم صلي علي محمد وعلي Iddio benedica Maometto, e Aly, &c.) as being warranted by the remaining traces of the characters; nor can I perceive either the بين (in addition to من) of the one, or the علي of the other learned person.

The original Tartar name of the sovereign by whom the coin was struck, seems to have been written indifferently by historians اوگاپتو *Au-Gaptu* and اولجپتو *Aul-Japtu*; the former of which we find in the text of Abu'lfeda, as well as in this legend.(1) The name of *Khodabandah*, by which he is most commonly known, does not appear. Immediately preceding his Mahometan epithet or title of غياث الدين *Gheiath-ed-dîn*, and following the word مالك rex, there are characters that admit of being

(1) "Pocock (Suppl. Historiæ Dynast. p. 3.) gives the various readings of الجايتو, الجيتو, and الجبتو. Adler, who probably had consulted the same authorities, says: "Confer Hist. Tatar. geneal. p. 424. ubi pro الجبتو *Olgaptu* exhibetur *Ulaitu* tanquam الجيتو legisset." Abulf. Annal. t. v. p. 412. The work of Abu'lghazi here referred to is remarkably loose and incorrect with regard to the orthography of proper names. It will, however, be obvious to those who examine the engravings of the coin, that the ambiguity attending the first syllable of the word has its source in the coin itself; it being in fact extremely difficult to determine whether the characters are intended for اوگاپتو or اولجاپتو, written as they are without points. Another instance of او *Au* being prefixed to proper names amongst these people, will be found in Abu'l-Pharajii Hist. Dynast. p. 281.

SILVER, An. (710). read رقان الامر, but are not intelligible. The latter of these two words is written الامام *Al-Imâm*, by T. C. Tychsen and others, (unjustifiably I think), whilst of the former, which may not perhaps be found on their specimens, no notice is taken. O. G. Tychsen's reading of مالك فارس rex Persiæ is quite gratuitous, however appropriate may be the sense; but it should be observed that he alone correctly writes مالك, as it is on both of my coins, and not الملك, as we find it in all the other descriptions.

Of the date nothing appears excepting the word عشر ten; and as on the coin, in other respects similar, described by Assemani, the year 710 is expressed, we are not likely to err much in assigning to this the same date. *Au Gaptu* died in 716, and was buried in the city of *Sultaniyah*, which he had founded in the latter part of his reign. This coin is from the mint of تفليس *Teflis*, the capital of Georgia. The phrase of "cujus regnum æternet s. conservet Deus" was generally used by the princes of this dynasty, as well as by many of their successors on the throne of Persia.

CCLXXVII.

غياث الدين اوگاپتو (خدابنده) محمد *GHEIATH ED-DÎN AU-GAPTU (KHODABANDAH) MUHAMMED.*

SILVER, An. (710).

I. AREA and MARGIN. As in the preceding.

II. AREA. As in the preceding.

MARGIN. ضرب . . . . .

(2 dw. $11\frac{3}{4}$ gr.)

This silver coin, which is just double the weight of the preceding, had the same inscription, which is now in some parts more and in some parts less perfect. Neither the date nor the place of coinage is ascertainable in this latter. They bear a strong resemblance both to the specimen described

described by Assemani, n. cvi. and to that by T. C. Tychsen, Comm. II. n. 26; the chief difference consisting in their want of the word ايام diebus, which should intervene between the preposition في in, and the word دولة imperii; and also, as already noticed, of the name or title of خدابنده *Khodabandah*, servant of God, which is said to have been a Persian modification of خربندا *Kharbanda*, one of his original appellations. SILVER, An. (710).

Although the resemblance in the inscriptions of these two coins might be thought such as to render their identity complete and a repetition unnecessary, yet on account of the difference in their size and appearance, as well as in the defacement of particular parts, it became desirable that engravings of both should have place. The latter specimen was obligingly given to me by Mr. Vaughan, now Secretary of embassy at the court of France.

CCLXXVIII.

ابو سعيد بن اوگاپتو *ABU SÀÎD BEN AU GAPTU,*

Ninth Moghul king of Persia.

I. AREA. Third symbol. SILVER, An. 71(6).

AT BOTTOM. ابوبكر عمر عثمان علي
Abu-bekr, Omar, Othmân, Ali.

MARGIN. بسم الله وهو السميع ا . . .
In nomine Dei auscultantis . . . .

II. AREA. ضرب في ايام دولة السلطان الاعظم ابو سعيد
خلد الله ملكه ارزنجان
Cuditur (in) *Arzenjân* diebus imperii sultani maximi *Abu Sàíd*, cujus regnum æternet Deus.

SIDES. نعمة الله Benevolente Deo.

ANGLES. ضرب ارزنجان في سنه . . . . عشر و سبع مايه
Cuditur in *Arzenjân* anno 71(6) 131(6). (2 dw. 6 gr.)

As

SILVER, An. 71(6).

As the immediate predecessors of this king (the last of his race who preserved even a nominal independence) professed an adherence to the doctrines of the *Shîâhs*, and placed on their coins the names of the twelve *imâms* or rightful successors of the Prophet, according to their belief, so here we find an equally open avowal of the *Sunnîh* or orthodox faith, in a display of the names of the four principal companions, as they are generally styled, who became, in succession, the actual khalifs or Commanders of the Faithful.(1)

The place of coinage was *Arzenjân*, a city of Armenia,(2) and it is remarkable that the name occurs both in the Area and the Margin. In the date there is a defect occasioned by a perforation obliterating the units. The numeral words for 710, however, are distinct, and a near approximation may be made; for as *Abu-Sâîd*, who began his reign in 716, assumed the title of *Bahâdar khân* (equivalent to the Arabic term *Al-Mansûr*) in consequence of a victory he obtained in 718, and as that title does not appear in the inscription, although found on his later money, we may safely infer that this was coined in the period between those two years inclusive.

The words beginning with بسم الله and disposed in an artificial manner round the margin of I. are probably a sentence from the *korân*, but the *surah* to which it belongs has not been ascertained, and the concluding characters, which admit of being read للنيه 'animi propositum,' are by no means unequivocal. They are, however, sufficiently distinct on my specimen to prove that the reading of للمليم "cognoscentis" by O. G. Tychsen (Introd. p. 105.) cannot be justified, any more than that of الباصر "che vede" by Castiglioni;(3) and I am persuaded that Fraehn, when

(1) *Au Gaptu Khodabandah*, his father, is understood, however, to have been compelled to adopt a middle or trimming part. "Parti Alidarum favebat (says T. C. Tychsen), quorum fidei formulam in numo supra laudato palam proposuit. Idem tamen, ne Sunnitas offenderet, in quorum castra dein transisse dicitur, Ali encomium hic literarum plexibus celari voluit. In margine sunt nomina IV. Imamorum quos Sunnitæ unice colunt." De num. Selguic. et Mogol. p. 109.

(2) "Arzengan ou Arzengian, ville de la province de Roum ou Romaine en Syrie..... Cette ville appartient plutô à l'Armenie, et fut prise par les Mogols l'an 64 0de l'Hegire." Heberlot, Biblioth. Orientale. This place is particularly mentioned by Marco Polo, by whom it was visited a few years before the reign of *Abu Sâîd*. See Travels, p. 47.

(3) "Questa moneta è quasi equale a quella descritta da Ol. Tychsen, se non che nel margine del

when he has an opportunity of examining an accurate delineation of my specimen, will see grounds for altering the opinions he has expressed with regard to some parts of the inscription, and particularly the word which he supposes to be الري. (Num. Bulghar. Admonitio extrema, p. 157). It is not improbable, from the manner in which the words are disposed in the four compartments, that نعمة الله may be intended to stand in connexion with the name of the place. SILVER, An. 71(6).

CCLXXIX.

ابو سعيد *ABU SÀÍD.*

I. AREA. Third symbol. SILVER, An. 716?

MARGINAL ANGLES. ضرب سنه ست عشر . . .

Cuditur anno . 16 .

II. AREA. ضرب في دولة المولي السلـ . . الاعظم ابو سعـ .
خلد الله ملكـ . . تفليس ؟

Cuditur sub imperio magnifico sultani maximi *Abu Sàíd*, cujus regnum æternet Deus. *Teflís* an *Tabríz?*

MARGIN. . . . . عشر . . . . . سبعـ . . . . .

Characters very uncertain. (2 dw. 6¼ gr.)

The inscription on this silver coin of the same sultan is less circumstantial than the preceding. The characters are in general indistinct from unskilful or careless engraving of the dies, particularly those which should express the date and the place. The latter bears some resemblance both to تفليس *Teflís* and to تبريز *Tabríz*, and is probably the same word

del dritto egli vi lesse العليم *sapiente*, in vece che qui leggo الباصر *che vede*." T. C. Tychsen, after reading the words السمنه السو, adds ingenuously "quæ fateor me non intelligere." Comment. II. p. 14.

SILVER, An. 716?

word that Adler reads تورز *Tauriz* on two coins (Mus. Cuf. Borg. no. LIV. LV.); but although this capital of the province of *Aderbijân* was named Tauris by the Greeks and Romans, there is no authority amongst the oriental writers for such orthography. Prof. Fraehn (Num. Orient. Potot. p. 38) reads the word, on a coin that may be supposed similar, يزد *Yezd*, which the appearance of the characters on my specimen by no means warrants. The characters in Margin II., that seem to be a repetition of the date, are still more vague than those in the marginal angles of I.

CCLXXX.

ابو سعيد *ABU SÀÎD.*

SILVER, An. 716-736.

I. AREA. Third symbol.

MARGINAL ANGLES. ابوبكر . . . . . علي . . . . .

Abu-bekr . . . . . *Ali* . . . . .

II. AREA. ضرب في دولة السلطان الاعلم و الاعظم
ابو سعيد خلد الله ملكه

Cuditur sub imperio sultani sapientis et magnifici *Abu Sàîd*, cujus regnum æternet Deus.

MARGINAL ANGLES. Illegible. (2 dw. 4 gr.)

The uncertainty in parts of this inscription, as on other coins of the Moghul dynasty of Persia, does not arise so much from accidental injury as from original imperfection. The names of *Abu-bekr* and *Ali*, sufficiently distinct in the Margin of I., imply the existence, in the space between them, of *Omar* and *Othman*, but which the half-formed characters do not seem to express. In the Area of the same side, the word الله, at the top, is superfluous; whilst on other coins nearly similar it is required to complete the first portion of the symbol. In Area II. the terminating characters of the word سعيد *Sàîd*, which properly belongs to the

the last line, are found in that immediately above, where they separate the الـ of الاعظم. The word ملكه also, for which there was not space in the Area, is thrown into one of the marginal angles. SILVER, An. 716-736.

CCLXXXI.

انوشروان *ANÛSHIRWÂN.*

I. AREA. Third symbol. SILVER, An. 747?

SIDES. ابوبكر عمر عثمان علي

Abu-bekr, Omar, Othmân, Alî.

II. AREA. السلطان العادل انوشروان خلد ملكه

Sultanus justus, *Anûshirwân.* Perpetuum sit regnum ejus.

SIDES. فلستوان سنه سبع و .....

..... anno (74)7 (1346). (19 gr.)

This small silver coin belongs to one of those ephemeral princes of the race of *Hulagu,* who were set up and deposed during the period of confusion that followed the death of *Abu Saïd,* and he must not be confounded with the celebrated *Nushirwân,* the son *Kobâd,* who flourished during the reigns of the emperors Justin and Justinian.

The inscriptions of the two Areas are contained in lozenges, and are quite distinct. Of the names of the four successors in the lateral compartments, one (that of عمر *Omar*) is nearly obliterated. On II. these lateral characters (in what may be termed broken *niskhi*) are more rude and scarcely legible. The word intended for the name of the place of coinage seems to be فلستوان *Falestuân.* Of the date, only the word سبع 7 can be distinguished, which must be considered as the unit of 747, as we are told that

SILVER, An. 747? *Ashraf*, who usurped his throne, was himself defeated and dethroned in 756, by a neighbouring prince of the same Moghul race.(1)

CCLXXXII.

UNCERTAIN.

SILVER, very small, An.

I. AREA. Third symbol.

SIDES. ابوبكر عمر عثمان علي

Abu-bekr, Omar, Othmân, Ali.

II. AREA. ... (دل) السلطان العا

Sultanus justus .... (15¼ gr.)

On one side of this diminutive and very neat silver coin, the formulary inscription is perfectly clear. On the other, and the more important, where the sultan's name should be expressed, the characters, although fair in appearance, do not present a legible and consistent word. In the titles which precede it, the final letters are, from the want of sufficient space, omitted. That the coin belongs to this dynasty will scarcely admit of a doubt, and as the names of the four successors of the Prophet, without any allusion to the *Shîdh* principles, were first introduced by *Abu-Sâîd*, the date of coinage could not have been earlier than his reign.

(1) " La puissance de ces Mogols, says De Guignes, finit avec le regne d'Abusaïd bahadour khan. Les princes de la dynastie des Dgioubaniens (بني جوبان *beni Jûbân*) mettoient sur le trône, et déposoient à leur gré les Khans ses successeurs. Anouschirouan y fut placé par Malek el-Aschraf le Dgioubanien et déposé ensuite. Aschraf n'établit plus de Khan de la famille de Genghiz-khan et se déclara souverain de l'empire ; mais Dgianibek khan, empereur du Captchaq, le défit l'an 756 de l'hegire, de J. C. 1355, et s'empara de ses états." T. I. p. 283.

CCLXXXIII.

UNCERTAIN.

I. AREA. Third symbol. SILVER, small, An.

SIDES. ابوبكر عمر عثمان علي
Abu-bekr, Omar, Othmân, Ali.

II. AREA. السلطان الاعلم ابو حا . . . . لا . . . .
خلد الله ملكه
Sultanus sapiens . . . . . cujus regnum æternet Deus.

TOP and BOTTOM. *Abu-bekr. Othman.* ابوبكر عثمان
(15½ gr. 17 gr. 16¾ gr. 13½ gr. 15½ gr.)

From general analogy this coin also, of which there are five specimens in good preservation, may be supposed to belong to the same dynasty. The name of the sultan cannot be ascertained. On four specimens it commences with the characters بو or نو, but on a fifth the ا is prefixed, making it ابو or انو. There is no date. At the top and bottom of Area II. the names of two of the early khalifs are repeated; that of عثمان *Othmân* being perfectly distinct, and of ابوبكر *Abu-bekr*, less so; but at the sides there is no trace of the second and fourth. Upon one specimen, with the name عثمان *Othmân*, unequivocally, at bottom, the corresponding space at top is filled with an ornamental scroll, whilst on another, with the same scroll, the word at bottom resembles بسفر; which may signify, "in the second Arabian month." The two central characters of the same area (not unlike the letter ء reversed) are probably Uigurian.

CCLXXXIV.

CCLXXXIV.

UNCERTAIN.

SILVER, small, An.

I. AREA. . . ؟ ابول ابول ابول عال الملك ؟ ببله خان
خلد الله الملكه ابوبكر
. . . . . Cujus regnum æternet Deus. *Abu-bekr.*

II. AREA. A repetition of I. (10 gr.)

The evidences of this small silver coin (particularly light in proportion to its surface) belonging to the Persian branch of the Moghul family, are but weak; and were it not for the formulary sentence of invocation, it would be hazardous to consider the unusual combination of characters as expressing the name or title of any prince. That of *Abu-bekr*, at the bottom of the Area, is probably intended for the first khalif, although the names of the other three successors of the Prophet do not appear. For the repetition of the legend, on the reverse, there is no accounting, unless on the supposition of an accidental mistake in the mintage.

CCLXXXV.

To these, in the last place, may be annexed a silver coin that in a perfect state would have been interesting from the fullness of its inscription, but the importance of which is much reduced by the injuries it has sustained, there not being a sufficient portion remaining to satisfy us of the reign to which it belongs; although some characters may be thought to justify the conjecture of its having been struck by *Gheiath-ed-dín*, surnamed *Khoda-bandah*, the eighth king of this dynasty.

TÎMÛR امیر تیمور OR TAMERLAN.

Of this powerful monarch, whose dominion embraced a considerable portion of Asia, there is only one coin in the collection, and as the specimens are rare, as well as generally unimportant, in other cabinets also, it may be inferred that the coinage was not to him an object of attention. Under these circumstances it will be sufficient for our purpose to observe that the period of his successful and astonishing career at which he may be said to have attained the rank, although he did not till long afterwards affect the style of a sovereign prince, was upon the death of *Amîr Hussein* in the year 771–1369; that in 1380 he conquered Khowarezm and Kashgar, in 1387 Isfahan, in 1393 Baghdad, in 1396 Moscow, in 1399 Dehli, in 1401 defeated Bayazid in Asia minor, and that he died in 807–1405, at the age of seventy-one, whilst on his march from Samarkand, his capital, towards China, of which country he meditated the conquest, as well as the extermination of its idolatrous inhabitants.(1)

His customary titles were قطب الدین امیر تیمور گورگان; to which are added that of صاحب قران or lord of the (planetary) conjunctions.

CCLXXXVI.

امیر تیمور گورگان *AMÎR TÎMUR GÛRGÂN.*

I. Area. Third symbol. Silver, An.(791?)

II. Area. *Sultân Mahmûd khân.* سلطان محمود خان

Amîr Timûr Gûrgân. امیر تیمور گورگان

(3 dw. 19 gr.)

This

(1) For a masterly sketch of the actions and character of this systematic destroyer of the human race, see Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. i. p. 449-485.

SILVER, An.(791?) This coin, although partially defaced, is illustrative of a material circumstance in the life of *Tîmûr*. The date, indeed, is wanting on this specimen, but it is supplied by comparison with one evidently similar noticed by T. C. Tychsen (Comment. de num. Arab. Hisp. &c. p. 94) which was struck at Samarkand in the year 791. What may at first appear a difficulty presents itself in the name and title of *Sultân Mahmûd khân*, the last acknowledged prince of the race of *Zagatai* the son of *Jengiz* who reigned in Turkistan and Transoxiana, being found at the head of the inscription. This however is perfectly consistent with what is recorded by the native historians of the high respect in which *Tîmûr* held that family from whose stock he was proud to claim descent; a respect that deterred him from assuming to himself the title of sultan, until a later period than the date of this coinage. By *Sherîf ed-dîn* we are informed that when the hero of his too partial history was proceeding to the conquest of *Khowarezm*, in the year 790–1388, he heard of the death of *Soyurgatmish* whom he had elevated to the rank of grand *khân*, and that upon his return to Samarkand in the autumn of the same year, he appointed *Mahmûd* the son of the deceased to succeed to that dignity. This *khân* reigned till the year 800–1397, when, as we are told by De Guignes, "Tamerlan, parvenu à la suprême puissance, et ses successeurs ensuite, négligerent de nommer des khans de la famille de Genghiz-khan, et ils furent les maîtres de la Transoxiane." T. 1. p. 286.

KHÂNS OF KAPCHAK.

Some years before the period at which *Hulágu* established his dynasty in Persia, *Batu* or *Bati*, another grandson of *Jengiz-khán*, was pushing his conquests and eventually founding a kingdom on the plains of *Kapchak* دشت قبچق, situated on the northern shores of the Caspian Sea and in the vicinity of the Wolga; his chief cities or places of residence being named *Saraï* سراي and *Bulghar* بلغار. To Professor Fraehn we are indebted for several improvements in the list of princes his successors, originally furnished through the indefatigable research of De Guignes, which shall here be given, with the observation that the dates in general are far from boasting of much precision.

	A.H.	A.D.
1. *Batu Sayen khán*, the son of *Jújí*, *Zúzi*, *Túshi*, or *Dúshi khán* باتو صاين خان بن جوجي (دوشي) خان	623	1226
2. *Barkah* or *Bereké khán*, the son of *Jújí*, (the *Barcha* of Marco Polo) بركه خان بن جوجي خان	654	1256
3. *Mangu-Timúr-khán*, the son of *Jújí* منگو تمور خان بن جوجي خان	665	1266
4. *Tuda-Mangu-khán*, the son of *Batu* تودا منگوخان بن باتوخان	680	1281
5. *Tula-Bogha-khán*, the son of *Mangu-Timúr* تولا بغا خان بن تمور خان	686	1287
6. *Gheiath-ed-dín Tuktághu khán*, son of *Mangu-Timúr* غياث الدين توقتاغو خان بن منگو تمور	690	1291
7. *Gheiath-ed-dín Muhammed Uzbeg khán*, the son of *Tuktághu* غياث الدين محمد اوزبگ خان بن توقتاغو	713	1313
8. *Jelál-ed-dín Mahmúd Janibeg khán*, the son of *Uzbeg* جلال الدين محمود جاني‌بگ خان بن اوزبگ	742	1341

9. *Muhammed*

		A.H.	A.D.
9. *Muhammed Birdibeg khán*, the son of *Janibeg*	محمد بردي‌بگ خان بن جاني‌بگ	759	1357
10. *Kúlpa-khán*, *Kildibeg*, the son of *Janibeg*	قولپا خان كلدي‌بگ بن جاني‌بگ	761	1359
11. *Muhammed Núrúz-beg-khán*	محمد نوروزبگ خان	761	1359
12. *Mahmúd Khedher-khán*	محمود خضر خان	761	1359
13. *Timur Khojah*(1)	تمور خواجه	762	1360
14. *Kheir Puládd-khán*	خير پولاد خان		
15. *Urdu Malek-khán*	اوردو ملك خان	762	1360
16. *Temnik beg khán*	تمنق بگ خان	762	1360
17. *Kildibeg khán*	كلدي‌بگ خان	763	1361
18. *Mirbeg khán*	مربگ خان	763	1361
19. *Abd-allah khán*	عبدالله خان	766	1364
20. *Aziz (Sheikh) khán*	عزيز (شيخ) خان	767	1365
21. *Muhammed-khán*	محمد خان	771	1369
22. *Túlún beg khán*	تولون بگ خان	773	1371
23. *Náser-ed-dín Túktamish khán*	ناصر الدين توقتمش خان	774	1372
24. *Beg Puládd khán*	بگ پولاد خان	794	1391
25. *Timúr Kútlú-khán*	تمور قوتلو خان		
26. *Shadibeg-khán*	شادي‌بگ خان	805	1402
27. *Puládd khán*	پولاد خان	812	1409
28. *Jelál-ed-dín khán*	جلال الدين خان		
29. *Chagrah-khán*	چگره خان	817	1414
30. *Timúr khán*	تمور خان	818	1415
31. *Daulat Birdi-khán*	دولة بردي خان	831	1427

(1) From the period of these ephemeral reigns we find little or no correspondence between the list furnished by De Guignes (chiefly from Russian materials) and that by Fraehn. I have generally followed the latter, who gives the names (in the Arabic character) from coins examined by himself; but it should be observed that the dates annexed to the several reigns are not, as in the preceding part of the list, the years in which they commenced, but only such as happen to be found upon coins of the respective princes.

CCLXXXVII.

غياث الدين توقتاغو خان *GHEIATH-ED-DÎN TUKTÂGHU KHÂN,*

Sixth khân of Kapchak.

I. Area. ... لطان الاعظم ... ث الدين (charact. Mog. توقتاغو) العادل Silver, An. 715.

Sultanus maximus (*Gheiath*) *ed-dîn* (*Tuktâghu*) justus.

II. Area. ضرب بسراي محروسه ٧١٥

Cuditur in *Saraï*-custodita, 715 (1315). ($16\frac{3}{4}$ gr.)

If the date of this small silver coin be really ٧١٥ 715, as the numeral figures seem to express, and not ٧١٠ 710, as similar specimens have been read by others, it must belong to the reign of *Gheiath-ed-dîn Muhammed Uzbeg-khan*, the son of *Gheiath-ed-dîn Tuktaghu-khân*, which is said to have commenced in 713–1315. T. C. Tychsen, however, although he reads the figures 715, refers the coin to the father and not to the son; as does also Prof. Fraehn, who, with more historical consistency, presumes the date to be 710.(1) To these authorities I readily defer, and especially as neither the name of *Muhammed* nor that of *Uzbeg* appears on my specimen, whilst they are found upon a coin of the year 717, in the Pototian cabinet.

Saraï, as has been observed, was a city on the bank of the Wolga, built (but probably of no very solid materials) by *Batu-khân*, and visited in the reign of his brother, about the middle of the thirteenth century, by the elder Polos. The epithet annexed to it of محروسه 'custodita, munita,' which is not uncommon upon coins of this class, may be supposed to denote its being a place of strength and importance, or, perhaps, under divine protection.

CCLXXXVIII.

(1) Vid. Commentt. de num. Arab. Hisp. p. 93. n. 44. et de num. Selgiuc. et Mogol. p. 112. Etiam, Numophyl. Orient. Potot. p. 45. To account for this uncertainty in the date it is necessary to remark, that the cipher in Arabic and Persian numerals is properly a point, although not within the mathematical definition, and when, in order to render it more visible, a certain degree of surface is given to it, a confusion may arise, as in the present instance, between the cipher and the numeral 5, which is represented by a small circle.

CCLXXXVIII.

غياث الدين *GHEIATH-ED-DÎN MUHAMMED KHÂN.*

SILVER, An. (773).

I. AREA. سلطان العدل غياث الدنيا و الدين محمد . . .

Sultanus justus *Gheiath-ed-duniya wa ed-dín Muhammed* . . .

II. AREA. ضرب . الاوردو سنه . . . .

Cuditur in *Ordú* (sede imperiali) anno (773-1371). (20¼ gr.)

The *Muhammed-khan* whose name appears on this coin is a distinct person from the prince of the same name, the son of *Tuktâghu*, spoken of in the preceding remarks; in proof of which it is only necessary to refer to the specimen of the same coin in the Göttingen Collection, described by T. C. Tychsen, Comm. II. p. 15. n. 36 et Comm. de Selgiuc. et Mogol. p. 115, the engraving of which exhibits an unquestionable resemblance of mine, with the addition of ٧٧٣ 773, as the date; or to the Numophyl. Orient. Potot. p. 55, of Fraehn.

The word denoting the place of coinage is precisely similar on all the specimens, and must be read الاوردو *al-Ordu*, signifying in its original sense the camp or horde, but emphatically, that national encampment where the royal standard was set up, or temporary capital of the Tartar prince. To Tychsen this reading did not occur, but it is confirmed by the authority of the Petropolitan Professor, whose opportunities of examining the rude money of these northern dynasties are ample. Castiglioni also translates the words, 'nell'orda.'

CCLXXXIX.

UNCERTAIN.

SILVER, small, An.

I. AREA. Third symbol.

II. AREA.

II. Area. السلطان الاعظم ؟ بفرخا ؟ ... خلد الله ملكه — Silver, small, An.

Sultanus maximus ..... æternet Deus regnum ejus.

(18½ grs. 15¼ grs. 13 grs. 16 grs. 10¼ grs. 17½ grs.)

Although of this small coin there are no fewer than six specimens, and all of them uninjured by time in any material degree, yet has the difficulty of ascertaining the name of the sultan by whom they were struck been found insuperable, and it is only from a slight analogy that they are referred to this Moghul branch: nor is it indeed surprising that unusual words should be illegible, when in such as from their familiarity cannot be mistaken, we perceive the omission of some characters and a change in the form of others. An instance of this will be found in the word الله, twice occurring in the Third symbol.

CCXC.

UNCERTAIN.

I. Area. Third symbol. — Silver, base, An.

Margin. Illegible.

II. Area. السلطان الاعظم خلد الله ملكه ضرب

Sultanus maximus, cujus regnum æternet Deus. Cuditur in ....

(1 dw. 3½ gr.)

The meagre legend of this adulterated silver coin bespeaks it of the *Kapchak*-Tartar class, but does not enable us to ascertain the sultan to whom it belongs, although the horizontal range of small circles, following the regal title, probably constituted his *tamgha* or device. It is well known that such emblems were generally adopted by the princes of this race, and that Tamerlan, who affected a descent from *Jengiz-khán*, bore as his device, three circles disposed triangularly.

The characters forming the last line of Area II., which stand in connexion with the word ضرب, at top, and should express the name of

Silver, base; An.

the place, have eluded my attempts to read them. A word at the bottom of Area I. also, is equally illegible.

CCXCI.

UNCERTAIN.

Silver, small, An.

I. Area.	Third symbol.
II. Area.	Illegible.
Exterior angles.	Illegible. (17 gr.)

It is surprising that the artist who could engrave in such neat characters (however imperfect the orthography) as those which compose the symbol on Area I. of this coin, should so rudely depict, on the Reverse, what we may presume to have been intended for the name of his prince, bearing some resemblance to ابغايل, or the obscure words in the marginal angles, that disappoint the expectation of a date. The usual prayer for the permanency of his reign is here omitted.

CCXCII.

UNCERTAIN.

Silver, An.

I. Area.	Third symbol.
II. Area.	خان خلد الله ملكه

. . . . . cujus regnum æternet Deus. ($18\frac{1}{4}$ gr. $14\frac{3}{4}$ gr.)

The name on this coin (of which there is a duplicate specimen) is no less obscure than that on the preceding; and in neither instance does the difficulty arise from obliteration. The characters may be read حرابردنوخان or اخربردنق‌خان, which, however, do not bear a resemblance that can be insisted upon with the name of any Moghul-Tartar prince that has been recorded.

recorded. At the bottom of the Symbol on Area I. there are traces of a word resembling سنه anno, but without the date that should follow. SILVER, An.

CCXCIII.

UNCERTAIN.

I. AREA. سلطان محمد خان . . . . . خان
Sultanus *Muhammed-khán*. SILVER, small, An.

II. AREA. Illegible. . . . . ضرب
(10½ gr.)

The title of *Muhammed-khán* being common to many of the princes of this dynasty, although usually with a distinguishing surname, and no date being perceptible, it is in vain that we should attempt to refer this coin to its proper owner. There is indeed an appearance of the same words being repeated in the lower part of the Area, which may be intended for the patronymic, if the son's name and the father's were alike. The reticulated figure in the centre may be supposed the *tamgha* or device of the sultan, rather than a mere ornament. With the exception of the single word ضرب 'cuditur,' the inscription of the Reverse is rendered quite unintelligible by the confusion of double striking.

The descriptions of some of these latter specimens are so imperfect and unsatisfactory, that it might seem advisable to have omitted them; but as, on the other hand, it is expedient that engravings should be made of them for the advantage of further investigation by learned persons to whom the originals may be inaccessible, it becomes necessary that they should be identified by some notice in the text. Their counterparts may probably have already been discovered by the Petropolitan Professor, amongst the Tartarian numismatic treasures under his care.

WITH MIXED SYMBOLS, *CHRISTIAN* AND *MAHOMETAN*.

In all large collections of oriental coins many are found of an anomalous character, which from the obscurity and imperfection of their legends, it is difficult to class. Of this nature are, more especially, those exhibiting mixed symbols or inscriptions, partly Christian and partly Mahometan: peculiarities arising from the circumstance of their having been struck either by Christian princes who wished to conciliate the good will of Mahometans whose country they had subdued; by those who, in a state of relative weakness, courted the protection or bowed under the authority of powerful neighbours, and in token of homage made a display of their titles; or, finally, by barbarous and ignorant converts to islaemism, who adopted as ornaments to their coinage, without any regard to their import, the devices and inscriptions of foreign money. To one or other of these descriptions the following may be referred, and it has been judged more expedient to bring them thus together, than to attempt a classification that must have been doubtful and imperfect.

CCXCIV.

UNCERTAIN.

COPPER. I. AREA. Figura hominis venerabilis, barbâ spissâ, facie obversa, oculis grandibus, gladio cincti.

Muhammed est legatus Dei. محمد رسول الله

II. AREA.

II. AREA. Crucis species gradibus imposita, inter literas I. S. COPPER.

MARGIN. بسم الله لا اله الا الله وحده

In nomine Dei. Non est deus nisi Deus unicus.

Amongst all the oriental coins that have become the subjects of examination by numismatic collectors, those that are impressed with the mixed symbols of Christianity and Islaemism, have occasioned the most trouble in the attempts to reconcile them to history, and have in the end been explained with the least satisfaction. Of this nature are the small copper pieces now before us. "Omnem diligentiam, cogitationem, mentem, omnem in his nummis defixi," says the learned Adler, "verum haud mihi contigit esse tam felici, ut eos ex omni parte intelligerem." Mus. Cuf. Borg. p. 71. According to the best opinion he could form, the venerable figure he supposes to be that of our Saviour, copied from some Byzantine money; but he does not venture to make any conjecture as to the mussulman or christian prince by whom they were struck. The objection to this identity which naturally presents itself, that the name of Muhammed, with its customary epithet, is written close to the figure, might be got over, inasmuch as it has been shewn in describing the Ortokite coins, that there is no necessary connexion between the legends and the devices; but not so, an objection grounded on the circumstance of its being girded with a sword, which is utterly inconsistent with the representation of him who came to give Peace on earth. To St. Peter such an appendage would have been more appropriate; but to the Arabian law-giver it is more especially applicable.

The cross on the opposite side, combined with the letters I. S. (if not rather the Greek ς) quasi Ιησοῦς σωτὴρ, can be no other than a christian emblem, however imperfect in its form, or from whatever motive introduced. In this coin, which is placed the first of the class, and of which there are triplicate specimens, we find neither place nor date to serve as guides to any illustration.

CCXCV.

CCXCV.*

UNCERTAIN.

COPPER. I. AREA. Figura ut in antecedente.

MARGIN. In nomine Dei. بسم الله

Third symbol.

II. AREA. Crucis species. Damasco دمشق

MARGIN. Third symbol.

On this specimen we have Damascus as the place of coinage, but without date or the name of any prince. In addition to the words that usually compose what has been termed the Third symbol, we find in the marginal inscription the epithet of وحده unicus.

CCXCVI.

UNCERTAIN.

COPPER. I. AREA. Figura ut in antecedentibus.

MARGIN. بعيد الله s. بعبد الله .... منين

II. AREA. Crucis species. 616 حلب

In *Haleb* (Aleppo) 616 (1219).

MARGIN. Third symbol, imperfect.

In this third coin of the class (of which there are four specimens) the information afforded by the inscription is not quite so meagre as in the preceding. Not only have we the name of *Haleb* as the place of coinage, but also the date of 616; and it is remarkable that this is expressed in what we should now term European ciphers, which although supposed to have been borrowed from the Arabians, differ much in their form from what

what were at that period, and still are in use in Arabic and Persian writings. The number, when compared on the various specimens, is too plain to be mistaken. COPPER.

In the Margin of I. there are characters that bear some resemblance to the word عبد الله *Abd-allah*, but what renders doubtful their being intended for that name is its having prefixed to it the inseparable particle or preposition بـ *be*, "at, in, with, by," of which no other instance has occurred. The same Cufic characters would compose the words بعيد الله, signifying "ad festum Dei:" a reading, however, upon which no stress can be laid. But to whom could the name of *Abd-allah* have belonged? Not, certainly, to the nephew of *Salah-ed-dîn*, whose seat of government *Haleb* or Aleppo was at that time: nor was it ever employed as an epithet, in its signification of "servus Dei," by the reigning khalif, *Nâser-ledîn-illah*, who died in 622. Our difficulties therefore are not solved by the imperfect data here furnished.(1)

CCXCVII.

UNCERTAIN.

I. AREA. Figura ut in antecedentibus COPPER.

بعيد s. بعبد الله عبد ا ..... مير المو ...

..... princeps Fidelium.

II. AREA. Species crucis. * بحمص

In *Hems* (Emissa).

MARGIN. Third symbol.

Upon this specimen, besides the characters that have been described as admitting a doubt whether they should or should not be read عبد الله,

(1) "Itaque, quantum conjicere licet," says Adler "eos a quodam Turcomanorum, vel Atabecorum principe qui præterea frequenter pecuniam figuris ornabant, tempore Chalifæ cujusdam Abdallæ signatos fuisse existimo." M. C. Borg. p. 73.

COPPER. we have, more distinctly, that name *(Abd-allah)* in addition; and as they are followed by the usual title of the khalifs, we must conclude that they belong to the real or pretended head of the mussulman faith, and not to the local prince.

In the place of what have been considered as the numeral figures of the date, we here find an asterisk. *Hems*, where it was coined, is the Emissa of Ptolemy, a well-known city of Syria, between Damascus and Aleppo.

CCXCVIII.

UNCERTAIN.

COPPER. I. AREA. Figura ut in antecedentibus

بعـ . . الله امير المومنين

. . . . . princeps Fidelium.

II. AREA. Crucis species. 616 صر . . بقنسرين

Cud . . in *Kinnasrín* 616 (1219).

MARGIN. Third symbol, imperfect.

The words supposed to be proper names are still less perfect in this than in the other specimens, and the numeral figures 616 are so nearly inverted as to be unintelligible otherwise than by comparison with those which precede. Adler accordingly doubts whether he should read them 585 or 679; although as they appear in his own Plate (n. XLVI. XLVII.), there is no ambiguity excepting with respect to the middle figure, where, by a curvature at top, the 1 is made to resemble 7.

The name of *Kinnasrín*, a town of Syria, not far from Aleppo, as the place of coinage, is understood to be expressed, as well on the specimens described in the Mus. Cuf. Borg. Tab. VI., as in Niebuhr's Descript. de l'Arabie, Tab. x.; but in mine, one denticulation of the ـس in that word is decidedly wanting.

CCXCIX.

UNCERTAIN.

I. AREA. Figura ut in antecedentibus. COPPER.

محمد .... الله

Muhammed .... Dei.

II. AREA. Crucis species. *Al-Rohá* (Edessa) الرها

MARGIN. In nomine Dei. بسم الله

Third symbol, imperfect.

This sixth coin of the series exhibits nothing particular excepting the name of the place, which is الرها *Rohâ;* an appellation given by the Arabians to the Edessa of the ancients and *Orfa* of the Turks, situated on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, and consequently in Mesopotamia. Like the first one described, it bears no date, nor any traces of the name of a prince or khalif.

CCC.

A seventh is much more obscure than the preceding, not only in the representation of the human figure (if such were intended), but in the legends also, which although in a state of complete preservation, are to me inexplicable, with the exception of the words في سنه 'in anno' and a third that may be read خمس 5.

CCCI.

To this is subjoined a small, unimportant coin, which in fact has little or no connexion with this class, but to which it would be difficult to

assign any place less objectionable. On one side there is the resemblance of a chalice or drinking cup, and on the Reverse the mutilated words السلطان الملك, followed by the name of the prince, of which the characters are uncertain.

Upon the subject of these obscure copper coins, with what have been considered as Christian symbols, the illustrator of the Milan collection has advanced a new and rather bold opinion; but which, if sustainable, would certainly remove many difficulties. As a preliminary fact, essential to his hypothesis, he endeavours to prove, that even under the first race of khalifs, in the purest times of islaemism, and amongst the most orthodox observers of the korân, the proscription of images or representations of men and other living objects, was by no means so strictly attended to as is generally supposed. Having combated what he conceives might be stated as an objection, and chiefly on the strength of a passage in Makrizi (Traité des Monn. Mus. p. 15), where it is asserted that the khalif *Muawiah*, who reigned from the year 41 to 60, caused dinars to be struck, on which was his own figure girded with a sword, he proceeds to establish that the coins in question are those of *Abd-al-malek*, whose khalifat began in 65, and who is said to have followed the same practice. He accordingly gives the legend, on the most of his specimens, in these words: عبدالله عبدالملك امير المومنين "*Il servo di Dio Abdolmelec* Principe dei Credenti;" and upon one of them (لعبد (الله عبد الملك "*Al servo* &c." in the dative case. With regard to the characters and symbols generally understood to be connected with Christianity, although he does not in direct terms assert the contrary, yet his dissent from the opinion is obviously implied, and especially by his describing what others have called a kind of Cross, as the Greek capital letter Φ "sopra tre gradini."

Flattering as it might be to a private collector to possess more than a dozen coins of an antiquity so rare in mussulman numismatics, I must, however reluctantly, avow myself unconvinced by the arguments of the learned orientalist, although ingeniously supported. Without entering upon a discussion of the weight that should be allowed to the passage in Makrizi,

Makrizi, as compared with what has been said by other writers respecting the origin of their coinage, I shall confine myself to as brief a statement as possible of the objections that present themselves to the validity of those arguments.

In the first place, considerable stress may be laid upon the rude appearance of these imperfect legends, contrasted with the neat and even beautiful character on the dirhems of *Abd-al-malek* and his immediate successors. (See Plate I. of this work, and Tav. II. of the Monete Cufiche). Secondly, the coins of the house of *Ommiah* were distinguished by a peculiar sentence declaring the Unity of the Godhead, of which there is here no appearance, whilst, on the other hand, we find the barbarous combination of words, "In nomine Dei, non est deus nisi Deus unicus," of which few examples can be shewn in the coinage of the first five centuries. Thirdly, presuming the words in the Area to be عبد الله "servus Dei" or لعبد الله "ad servum Dei" (for which latter expression there is no authority) we may ask, on what other occasion, historical or numismatic, does it appear that the khalif *Abd-al-malek* assumed that title or epithet? Fourthly, in no instance, upon any well-authenticated coin of this first race, whether in gold, silver, or copper, does the name of the khalif or title of Commander of the Faithful, form a part of the legend. Fifthly, if the emblems be really Christian, as their appearance bespeaks them, and of which any other person may be as competent a judge as the best-read Arabic scholar, we may pronounce them to be incompatible with the intolerance of one of the early successors of the Prophet, who it is not probable would have been induced, either from political courtesy or ideas of commercial advantage, to suffer such hated symbols to be combined with the name and functions of the venerated head of their faith. Sixthly, the date, in figures, they seem so obviously to bear ought alone to be appealed to in evidence of their low degree of antiquity. The author of the Monete Cufiche coincides with Assemani in supposing them to be alphabetical characters, but does not attempt their explanation; whilst Adler and Reiske, on the contrary, do not hesitate to consider them as real numerical figures. Seventhly, although it is certain that mints were soon established in all the distant provinces conquered by the mussulman arms, yet it may be questioned whether, in the

the first century of the *hejrah*, the coinage was carried on at so many places in the vicinity of Damascus as the various specimens denote. Eighthly; my last objection, and which I do not advance without considerable hesitation, applies to the possibility of error in reading the name of عبد الملك *Abd-al-malek*, or rather the word ملك *malek* or *melek*, forming the latter part of it, which is found upon five specimens of the Milan Collection, whilst neither upon any one of mine, upon that of Niebuhr's Plate, commented on by Reiske, nor upon those of the Mus. Cuf. Borg. described by Adler, does a trace of the word appear. Nothing, however, is more usual than for some specimens of the same coin to contain characters that have disappeared from others, and those of which the Imperial cabinet boasts, will, doubtless, be found to justify the readings of their able examiner.

Nearly allied to the preceding, and at least equally obscure, is another series of copper money, on the Reverses of which we find the Roman capital letter M, or in the cursive form, m, of a large size; the monogram, probably, of an unascertained word. In the Obverse is an erect figure of some holy or august personage, having upon or over its head a cross, in its right hand a crosier, and in its left a ball surmounted by a cross: emblems of so unequivocal a nature, as must serve to remove any doubt that may have been entertained of those on the former set being likewise the insignia of christianity. Should it, however, be argued, that, being coins of a different class and period, what is true of the one does not necessarily apply to the other, their intimate relation may be proved from the circumstance of their respective devices being interchangeable; some of the specimens to be examined, with the monogram on one side, having on the opposite, instead of the figure holding the crosier, that of the venerable personage before described, as girded with as word: all which figures and emblems we may presume to have been copied from the money of the Lower Empire.

CCCII.—CCCIV.

In the absence of dates there is little to determine the order in which the coins should be noticed, but on the first that presents itself, we perceive, at the side of the figure holding a crosier, the formulary words, بسم الله "In nomine Dei;" to which if there was any sequel on the other side, it does not now appear. On the Reverse the Roman capital M occupies nearly the whole surface of the coin. Above it is a small cross; between the perpendicular strokes, an imperfectly circular character, which Sestini thinks to be a Greek Δ; at the sides some unascertained characters; and at the bottom an Arabic word that on two specimens seems to be صليب "a cross," but is more probably حلب *Haleb*, the name of the place of coinage, as a third has the word دمشق *Damashk* in the same situation. On this last mentioned specimen the name of *Damashk* is followed by characters that may be read حالت *hâlat* or خالر *khâlar*, but cannot, from the junction of the third and fourth letters (more plain on a specimen not selected for engraving), be خازر *khâzar* or خزر *khazar* (Chazarus) as some have supposed. On the right hand of the figure there is the rude appearance of a bird, and as such it is represented by Sestini, Tab. v. n. 8.

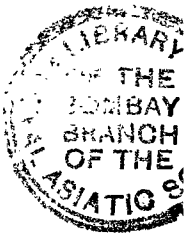
CCCV.

On a fourth coin of this class (of which there are two specimens) we can perceive at the side of the figure girded with a sword, the word ثمان 8, followed by the copulative و and some imperfect letters of the decimal. At the other side of the figure are characters disposed perpendicularly, that have some analogy to Greek. The Reverse of the coin exhibits the same Roman capital, with characters similar to those last mentioned, on each side. At the bottom appears more plainly the name of حلب *Haleb.*

CCCVI.

CCCVI.

The fifth (of which also there are two specimens) is more perfect in preservation and has more peculiarities than the foregoing. By the side of the figure girded with a sword are the words محمد رسول الله 'Muhammed est legatus Dei.' On the Reverse the large letter changes in some degree its shape, and takes, instead of the Roman form, that of the script or cursive m; on one side of which, in distinct Arabic characters, is the word فلسطين *Phalestîn* or *Palestîn*, according to the Arabic or the Syriac pronunciation of the first consonant.(1) Opposite to it, in the same character, appears a word like بطلميا ;(2) which may have been an attempt of the Franks to give to the city of Acre (the عكا *Akka* of the Arabians) its ancient Greek name of Ptolemais.



CCCVII.

The sixth variety is less remarkable. It exhibits the figure holding the crosier and the ball, with some uncertain characters, on which may be distinguished (on one specimen) what resembles the Greek τ preceded by ε, but more near in form and size to the Arabic ل *lam-alif*.(3) On the Reverse, the great letter, in the cursive form, is surrounded by rude characters, but whether intended for Greek or Armenian, or for neither, I cannot satisfactorily determine.

In Sestini's 'Lettere e dissert. numismatiche sopra alcune Medaglie rare della Collezione Ainslieana,' T. II. p. 201. he gives an account of three of

(1) In Castiglioni's description of a similar coin (nº. LXVI. Tav. VIII. nº. 5.) he supposes the name of the place to be قنسرين *Kennesrîn*, which on my specimens is unequivocally as above.

(2) These characters are by no means so evident on the engraved specimen as on another considered, upon the whole, as less perfect. It may be observed that the engraving of the dies for these barbarous coins was executed by persons to whom the Arabic characters and their combinations were by no means familiar.

(3) We shall see on a coin of Roger II. king of Sicily, that in a contraction of the word 'Secundus' this ل is employed for the Roman U.

of these coins, under the head of Leo. IV. Chazarus, with engravings of them in Tab. v. n. 6. 7. 8.; and although he reads the 'epigraphe Araba,' *Chazar, Zarb Damask*, Chazarus, cusus Damasci,' he considers them as being actually coins of the Byzantine emperor, and, consequently, struck in the eighth century of the Christian era. Of the same opinion is Adler also, who describes one (n. cix.) upon which appears, 'Effigies principis, manu clavam, vel gladium, vel simile quid tenentis, addito in margine titulo محمد خزار *Muhammed Chazarus.*' To which he adds: 'Chazarus ille, in numo laudatus, sine dubio est Leo IV. Chazarus, imperator Græcorum .... Sed quid sibi velit illud Muhammed, ignoro.' Collect. nov. p. 171.

Few other Greek antiquaries will, I think, agree with them, even admitting the reading of the word *Chazarus*, upon which so much stress is laid, to be correct: but certainly that reading cannot be sustained; and be the signification of the words what it may, the employment of the Arabic character is sufficient to render it in a high degree improbable that the coins were from an imperial mint: nor can any argument from analogy be grounded on the practice of certain Christian princes in Sicily or in Georgia, four or five centuries later. I am equally unconvinced of their being, as some have conjectured, the coins of Livon, Leon, or Leo IV. who reigned in the Lesser Armenia from 1305 to 1308. No evidence appears of his having affected to use the Arabic language or to countenance the religion of *Muhammed;* and it remains to be shewn by what authority he coined money in the capital of Syria, at that period belonging to the *Mamluk* sultan of Egypt, and from whom the Moghul prince *Ghâzan-khân* in vain attempted to wrest it.

Castiglioni appears to adopt, in general, the ideas of Sestini and Adler as to the claim of these coins to the honours of the Byzantine mint; but he rejects (as I have done) their interpretation of the Arabic term; substituting for it, however, a reading that even the respectable

sanction of his judgment will not be sufficient to establish.(1) The subject is one of great obscurity, and I do not pronounce upon it a decided opinion, but am inclined to think that they are imitations only of real Byzantine coins, and not earlier than the twelfth or perhaps the thirteenth century; in which case it may be presumed that the Greek emblems and words were copied without any regard to their import, by some of the Tartar princes who were so long established in Mesopotamia, and held occasional possession of Damascus and other Syrian cities: in the same manner as we have seen the heads of Antiochus II., of Constantinus, the son of Constantinus, and of Romanus Diogenes or Constantinus Ducas, transferred as ornaments to the coinage of these Turkoman Ortokites and Atabegs.

(1) "Vogliono essi," he says, "che sia خزر *Chazar*, e indichi il soprannome di *Chazaro*, che si dà talora dagli storici a Leone IV. per esser egli nipote, per parte di madre, del re dei *Chazari*. Per dir vero non mi pare che i caratteri della moneta ammettano in alcun modo questa lezione, nè per altra parte sembrami probabile che in un pubblico monumento dovesse l'Imperatore denominarsi *Chazaro* dal nome della nazione barbara cui sua madre apparteneva, anzichè *Leone*..... Inclinerei piuttosto a credere che vi si debba leggere خالد *Chaled*, o qualche altro nome di un Principe Arabo christiano della dinastia che regnò in Siria *avanti l'Islamismo*, il quale appoggiato alla protezione dei Romani avesse fatto revivere i proprj diritti." Mon. Cuf. p. 320.

NORMAN KINGS OF SICILY.

CCCVIII.

ROGER, second Count and first King of Sicily.

GOLD, An. 495-549 1101-1154

I. AREA. Third symbol, with words transposed.

MARGIN. بصقليه سنه ثلث (ثنين)

In *Sikiliah* (Sicilia) anno . . 3 aut 2.

II. AREA. The Roman letter T, with a Point on each side.

MARGIN. In nomine principis? بسم الامير (23 gr.)

Small gold coins nearly similar to this, have been described by Adler (Mus. Cuf. Borg. n. LXVII. &c.) and by Assemani (Mus. Cuf. Nan.), who attribute them to Roger II. king of Sicily; his name and Arabian title (رجار امير) being found on some specimens. Upon mine, however, they do not appear. The figure which occupies the area, resembling the Roman letter T, is by these learned writers and others considered as a monogram of the word Trinacria, an ancient appellation of that island:[1] a conjecture that must be thought questionable when we reflect that the modern name of *Sikiliah* or Sicilia forms a part of the inscription, and how unusual, if not unexampled it is, for both to have place on the same coin.

By some indeed, it has been supposed that the letter is the initial of the name of Tancred, who reigned in the same island from 1189 to 1195, and it is found on money indubitably belonging to that prince;[2] but

(1) "In quest' area si vede un T arabescato, che significa Trinacria." Mus. Cuf. Nan. p. CXX.

(2) Monete del regno di Napoli da Rogerio sino a Carlo VI. raccolte, spiegate da D. Cesare Antonio Vergara. Roma 1515, 4to. Thesaurus Antiquitatum &c. Lugduni Bat. 1723, Fo. Tab. CXCI. n. 5.

GOLD, An. 495-549 1101-1154

but not being confined to his coinage, it can have no reference to the personal name, and upon the whole it is perhaps most probable that what has been assumed as an alphabetical character, was, on the contrary, intended to represent a cross, the emblem of Christianity, and to countervail the mussulman symbol on the obverse; nor will the mixture of such inconsistent symbols appear extraordinary, when we read the remarks of historians upon the indulgence in matters of religion and national habits shewn by these princes of the Norman race to their Arabian subjects.(3)

I have not elsewhere observed the letter or cross represented with so much simplicity as on this specimen; the nearest approach to it being in Tab. VII. n. LXVII. and LXVIII. of the Mus. Cuf. Borg.; but there the accompanying points are more numerous and differently placed.(4) The characters remaining of the marginal inscription on that side are by no means free from doubt. Those which form the symbol in Area I. are rude, and the initial words of the sentence are in the lowest line. The marginal characters appear to have been engraved by a different, but equally unskilful hand.

CCCIX.

ROGER II. King of Sicily.

GOLD, An. 495-549 1101-1154

I. AREA. الملك رجار المعتز بالله

Al-Malek (Rex) *Roger*, per Deum valens.

MARGIN. ضرب . . . بمدينه . . . . . و خمس مايه

Cuditur . . . in urbe . . . . . 5 . .

II. AREA.

(3) "Francos quidem," says Abu'lfeda, "in insulam alliciebat et in colonias spargebat, interea tamen et Muslemos penes se atque in honore habebat, neque patiebatur inique haberi." Annales, t. III. p. 279.

(4) The coin of Ruggiero I. or II. in the Milan collection, described in p. 329, appears to be a duplicate of mine, but still less perfect: a delineation of it is not found in the Plates.

II. AREA. Crux, cum literis Græcis IC. XC. NI KA. (Jesus Christus vincit). GOLD, An. 495-549 1101-1154

MARGIN. ضرب بمدينة صقلية سنة ست . . . .

Cuditur in urbe *Sikilïah* (in Sicilia *i. e.* Palermo) anno . . 6 . . (19½ gr.)

As the elder of the two Norman princes of the name of Roger, who ruled the island of Sicily, did not assume the title of *Malek* or king, we may infer that this small gold coin belonged to the second, who succeeded his father as count of Sicily in 483-1090, became king in 495-1101, and died in 549-1154. Could the century of the date be depended upon, no other proof of this would be necessary, but although the word خمس 5 is tolerably legible on the one side, and ست 6 (in the place of units) on the other, the characters are too imperfect for chronological authority; and especially as the repetition of the words expressing the year and place of coinage is a circumstance so anomalous.

Coins of the same class, with the same Greek characters, are described by Adler, Mus. Cuf. Borg. p. 81. The Mahometan symbol, however, in these is not disposed circularly as in my specimens, of which there are three. Castiglioni also describes one in the Milan cabinet, where the repetition of the word ضرب &c. and the defects in the latter parts of the marginal inscriptions, are exactly similar to what appear in the above.

CCCX.

In this place it is proper to notice also a gold coin of the same small size, and probably belonging to the same period, although perhaps not to this Norman dynasty. It exhibits on one side a Greek cross, accompanied with the letters I C. X C. (the X being inclosed in a lozenge); with the addition of the unintelligible characters III. at the foot of the cross. On the reverse, instead of an inscription in Arabic or any other language, we find only an ornamented circle.

CCCXI.

WILLIAM, second King of Sicily.

Copper, An. 549-562 1154-1166

I. Area. Effigies Virginis cum Jesu infante ?

II. Area. Concave. Rex W.

Margin. ..... بمسانة ....

..... in *Messánah* (Messina).

This peculiar coin, with convex and concave sides, must be considered as belonging to the first William of Sicily, the son of Roger, as those of William II. have generally, if not always, the distinguishing epithet, expressed in two languages. The figures on the convex side may be presumed to represent the Virgin Mary and infant Christ, and they have been so described by Adler. Mus. Cuf. Borg. n. LXXVI. It is remarkable that for the initial letters of their name, these princes adopted the Teutonic W, in preference to the Norman-French G. No date appears. The duration of his reign was properly from 1154 to 1166; but in 1150 he had been associated with his aged father in the government of the kingdom.

CCCXII.

WILLIAM, second King of Sicily.

Copper, An. 549-562.

I. Area. Arbor ramusculis dependentibus.

II. Area. W. R.

This diminutive copper coin also we should refer to the first William. It is probable that some emblematical allusion was intended by the declining branches of a tree. The workmanship is altogether of the rudest kind, and from the circumstance of the R being reversed, we may conclude that the artist was not an European.

On

On a silver coin of William II. in the Borgian collection, n. LXXXI. we observe a tree with branches pendent in the same manner; which might lead to the supposition that the copper coin was struck by the same prince, and the word Secundus omitted from want of space. COPPER, An. 549-562.

CCCXIII.

WILLIAM II. third King of Sicily.

I. AREA. REX W. SCꝰS. COPPER, An. 562-585 1166-1189

MARGIN. OPERATA IN (URBE MESS)ANE. (Messina).

II. AREA. الملك غليلم الثاني

Rex Ghulielm s. Wilhelm secundus.

MARGIN. Doubtfully legible.

This coin also, of William II., who reigned from 1166 to 1189, has been described by Alder, n. LXXXIII. in whose specimen the marginal inscription of II. is preserved, and rendered by the words 'cusus jussu regis augusti Messanæ.' Upon mine (in duplicate) the characters are indistinct and seem but imperfectly to accord with that reading. By Castiglioni it is also described, from an obliterated specimen. The mode of contracting the word Secundus is peculiar.

CCCXIV.

WILLIAM II. King of Sicily.

I. AREA. Caput s. frons leonis. COPPER, An. 562-585.

II. AREA. الملك غليلم الثاني

Rex Ghulielm s. Wilhelm secundus.

This

COPPER, An. 562-585. This small, neat copper coin, of which there are two specimens in good preservation, represents on one side the countenance of a lion, and on the other, the name of William the Second. Neither date nor place of coinage appears. It has been described, with an engraving, by Adler, n° LXXXIV., as it had previously been by Paruta, Sicilia, tav. CLXXXIX. n 4.

CCCXV.

TANCRED, fourth King of Sicily.

COPPER, An. 585-591 1189-1195

I. AREA. REX.

MARGIN. ROGERIVS.

II. AREA. الملك تنقريد Rex *Tancrid.*

Tancred, the illegitimate grandson of Roger II. was chosen king of the Normans of Sicily and Apulia, upon the death of William II. and reigned about five years. To him this coin (of which there are three specimens) must be presumed to belong, although the name of his ancestor appears on it in more conspicuous characters. The difficulty that presents itself in such a combination is not easily solved; but perhaps from a consciousness of the want of hereditary claim to the throne, he might have found it politic to interest the feelings of his subjects, by associating with his own the popular name of his venerated grandfather.(1)

In

(1) Castiglioni, on the contrary, is of opinion that the name of Rogerius on a similar coin described by him (Tav. XVII. n°. 2.), is that of a son of Tancred, on whom he had conferred the title of King. Having successfully pointed out the mistakes into which Adler and Olaus Tychsen had fallen in their attempts to read the Arabic name (which, however, is correctly given in Eichhorn's Repertorium, Th. XVIII. p. 49. 50), he says: 'Se però Tychsen avesse osservato che Tancredi associò Ruggiero suo figlio al trono dandogli il titolo di Re, non avrebbe esitato a leggere nei carrateri arabi il nome di Tancredi.' Mon. Cuf. p. 338. Unwilling as I am to put my imperfect knowledge of this obscure part of history in competition with that of the learned Italian, I cannot avoid remarking the improbability of such an association having taken place during the short reign of a young king who was called to the throne by the voice of the people, in order to resist the pretensions

CCCXVI.

In deference to the opinion of Adler, rather than as the result of my own examination, I place amongst these Normanno-Sicilian coins a small one of gold, on both sides of which the characters are fancifully arranged at either extremity of lines intersecting each other, in such a manner as to form a number of triangles, with a circle inscribed. The words thus composed, upon what may be considered as the Obverse or I., are evidently the *Shîàh* symbol, or Third symbol with the addition of the words علي ولي الله, from whence we may conjecture that it was struck by one of the Aghlabite princes of Africa, or Fatimite of Egypt, who successively held the dominion of Sicily. The words on the Reverse I am unable to decipher, and the marginal inscriptions are nearly obliterated.(1) (16 grs.)

CCCXVII.

UNCERTAIN.

I. AREA.	Palmæ ramusculus.	COPPER.
MARGIN.	Very imperfect. ..... سلة و	
II. AREA.	Linea curvata circulo inclusa.	
MARGIN.	ضرب هذا الفلس بالرملة	
	Cuditur hic follis in *Ramlah.*	

The time or circumstances of the coinage of this small piece of copper money, at *Ramlah* in Palestine, are unknown, but from the appearance of a palm-

tensions of the emperor Henry VI., in which cause he died on the Apulian frontier, and after whose decease the kingdom of his widow and *infant son* fell without a struggle." See Decl. and Fall of the Roman empire, vol. v. p. 642.

(1) "Hic nummus," says Adler, "ob varias lineas, quibus litteræ continentur, easdemque attritas, lectu difficilis est, sed eundem regem (Rogerium) mihi referendus videtur." Mus. Cuf. n. LXX. p. 81.

COPPER. palm-branch we may infer that it was struck by one of the Christian princes during the period of the crusades. The situation of *Ramlah* is on the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem, about one third of the whole distance from the former place. It may be supposed to have taken its name from the *sandy* plain in its neighbourhood.

CCCXVIII.

As the last of those that may be thought to have connexion with the reigns of Christian princes, who either ruled over or were themselves under the controul of Mahometans, I shall notice a coin that exhibits on the one side a figure resembling the armorial fleur de lis, but which seems rather intended for the head of a kind of spear; and on the other, certain imperfectly-legible Arabic characters, that vary on three specimens, two of which will be found in Plate XVIII.

KINGS OF GEORGIA.

THE annals of these Christian princes are particularly defective and obscure. In the "Tables Chronologiques" of De Guignes we find a long list of names with scarcely any dates.(1) It is known, however, that *Giûrgi* or Georgius III., the son of Demetrius, but the immediate successor of *Davit* or David V., occupied the throne from the year 1150 to 1171 of the Christian era, and was succeeded by his daughter named *Tâmâr*, who married a Russian prince and died in 1198. Her son and successor Georgius IV., surnamed *Lasha*, died about the year 1226, leaving a son (by a concubine) named *Nara* David. His pretensions to the crown were resisted by a princess named *Rusudan*, the sister of Georgius, who took possession of and retained it until the year 1239, when the invasion of the neighbouring kingdom of Armenia by the Moghul-Tartars occasioned her to seek her personal safety in flight, and afterwards to destroy herself by poison. Not long before this event *Nara* David had been constituted king of Georgia by one party of the Moghuls, whilst the cause of another David, the son of *Rusudan*, was supported by a different branch, and a partition of the kingdom between these two princes took place in consequence, about the year 1247:(2)

 beyond

(1) "L'Histoire de Georgie (he says) nous est entièrement inconnue. Je donne ici une liste des Princes qui ont regné dans ce pays, d'après une table généalogique qui m'a été communiqué par M. de Lisle; il la tient du Prince de Georgie: mais on n'y trouve aucune époque." T. I. p. 433. Some further light has in latter times been thrown upon the subject, in consequence of the progress of the Russian arms in that quarter, and the treaty with Persia of the year 1801. See Collect. nov. of Adler, p. 173-177, and Monete Cufiche di Milano, p. 343-356, where the descriptions of several Georgian coins are accompanied with learned and judicious observations by the Conte Castiglioni.

(2) These two princes of the name of David were present at the election of *Gayûk kaan*, emperor of the Tartars, and were probably both living at the period when the father and uncle of Marco Polo performed their first journey through that part of Asia, between the years 1250 and 1260. The latter traveller was thence, not very unwarrantably, led to suppose that David was the generic name of the whole race of kings.

beyond which period it is not necessary for our present object to trace this obscure lineage.

It appears that Georgia was at different periods subject to the dominion or paramount influence of the Seljûk and Ortokite princes, which may serve to account for our finding on its coinage legends in the Arabic character, which these latter had adopted along with the musulman religion. With respect to the words in Iberian characters, it would not be difficult to give plausible translations of them, but as the language is by no means familiar to me, and I might be led into errors, I have judged it best to refrain from the attempt, and only to take care that the inscriptions are correctly copied in the engravings.

CCCXIX.

كيوركي بن ديمطري *GIÛRGÎ BEN DIMITRÎ,*

Third of the name, king of Georgia.

COPPER, An. 545-1150 567-1171

I. AREA. Effigies principis coronam cruce ornatam capite gerentis, manu accipitrem; cruribus decussatim insidentis: cum epigraphe literis Georgianis s. Ibericis.

II. AREA. ملك الملوك كيوركي بن ديمطري حسام المسيح

Rex regum Georgius fil. Demetrii, gladius Messiæ.

Of this coin there are five specimens, most of them in good preservation, and parts that happen to be defective in one are supplied by comparison with others. The figure as well as the name of the king are generally distinct. On two of the specimens he bears the falcon on his right hand: on the others, upon his left. The latter is, I believe, the more correct attitude; and in these the right hand, hanging down, grasps some kind of instrument that may perhaps be connected with the sport of hawking. To hold a sceptre in that manner would be uncharacteristic. It is not undeserving of notice that Marco Polo, speaking of these

these Georgian princes, who reigned about a century before his time, says, 'I was told that in ancient times the kings of the country were born with the mark of an eagle on the right shoulder.' P. 53.

COPPER, An. 545-1150 567-1171

An engraving of the coin has been given by T. C. Tychsen, Num. Dynast. Comm. Tab. iv. n°. 65; but the posture of the hand opposite to that which holds the bird is not correct.

CCCXX.

TÂMÂR, DAUGHTER OF *GIÛRGÎ III*, *queen of Georgia.*

I. AREA. Insignia Georgiana, cum characteribus Georgianis s. Ibericis.

COPPER, An. 567-595 1171-1198

II. AREA. ملكة الملكات جلال الدنيا و الدين
تامار ابن كيوركي ظهير المسيح

Regina reginarum, gloria mundi et fidei, *Támár* filia Georgii, cultor s. protector (religionis) Messiæ.

The queen of Georgia whose name appears on this piece of copper money (of which there are two specimens) is celebrated in the scanty historical notices we have of the period to which her reign belonged, and yet her coins are said to be extremely rare.(1) The peculiar figure in the centre of the area, which may be thought to bear some resemblance to the head of a spear, was probably the *tamgha* or military device of this queen. Some of the emblematical figures that surround it seem to be modified characters of the old Illyrian alphabet. An engraving of the coin is given by T. C. Tychsen, Tab. III. n°. 3; but his reading is not justified by what is here indubitably expressed.

CCCXXI.

(1) "Hujus reginæ, inter principes Georgiæ celeberrimæ, nummi nulli, arabicis titulis signati, qui Persarum dominationem prodant, cogniti sunt: summa ergo cum potestate tenuisse videtur imperium victoriosa regina." Adler, Collect. nov. p. 174.

CCCXXI.

كيوركي بن تامار *GIÛRGÎ (IV.) LASHA BEN TÂMÂR.*

Copper, An. 595-623 1198-1226

I. Area. Characteres Georgiani s. Iberici.

II. Area. الملك المعظم جلال الدنيا و الدولة كيوركي
بن تامار حسام المسيح

Rex supremus gloria mundi et regni *Giúrgí* (Georgius) filius (reginæ) *Támár*, gladius Messiæ.

Giúrgí (or Georgius IV.) surnamed *Lasha* reigned from the death of his mother, *Támár*, in 595-1198 to 623-1226. An engraving of this coin is given by Adler, Mus. Cuf. Borg. Tab. IV. n°. XXXII., but his description of it (p. 59) is quite incorrect.

CCCXXII.

GIÛRGÎ LASHA.

Copper, An. 595-1198 623-1226

I. Area. Characteres ductu continuo, non legibiles.

Margin. Obliterated.

II. Area. الملك الملوك ... ل الدنيا و الدولة .....
ابن تامار ظه ....

Rex regum gloria mundi et regni (*Giúrgí*) filius (reginæ) *Támár*, cult ....

Margin. Obliterated.

The imperfect remains of inscription on this rude coin are just sufficient to shew that it belongs to the same prince. Similar coins, with a continued scroll, have been noticed by T. C. Tychsen, Comm. II. n°. 19, by Adler, Coll. nov. n°. CXII. &c. p. 174, and by Castiglioni, p. 348. The specimens appear to be all extremely imperfect.

CCCXXIII.

CCCXXIII.

HERACLIUS, Prince of Georgia.

COPPER, An. (1179-1765).

I. AREA. " Libra cui imposita est corona, ad dextram gladius, ad sinistram sceptrum, infrà globus cruce ornatus."

II. AREA. " In medio, ornamentis cinctæ, tres literæ Georgianæ, quæ Heraclii nomen innuunt, infrà, ١١٧٩ ضرب تفليس Cus. Teflisi 1179 (1765)."

An engraving of this modern coin, struck by Heraclius a late prince of Georgia, whose kingdom was in his lifetime annexed to the dominion of Persia, having been given by T. C. Tychsen (De num. orient. Comm. III. Tab. v. p. 43.) from a more perfect specimen than that which belongs to this collection, I have here used the freedom of repeating his description of it. In mine both the place and date are wanting, and one of the scales (of justice) has been defaced by a countermark.

KHALIFS OF SPAIN, OF THE RACE OF *OMMIAH.*

WHEN the Abbassite dynasty of khalifs was established in the East, by the death of *Merwan ben Muhammed* and the destruction, generally, of the princes of the house of *Ommiah*, one of these latter, named عبد الرحمن *Abd-ar-rahman*, a grandson of the khalif *Heshâm*, escaped from the slaughter at Damascus, in the year 132 (749), and took refuge in Africa. He had not remained long there, when the Arabian chiefs of Seville and other places in the southern parts of Spain, attached to a family under whose auspices their fathers had conquered the province, and indignant at what they regarded as the usurpation of the Abbassites, sent a deputation inviting the young prince to place himself at their head. He accordingly passed the straits in the year 139 (756), was received with joy by his new subjects, by whose means he defeated the governor of the province of Andalusia, took possession of Cordova its capital, and assumed the dignity and style of khalif of the West, by the name of

		A.H.	A.D.
1. *Abu'l Modhaffer Abd-ar-rahman Al-dakhel*	ابو المظفر عبد الرحمن الدخل	139	756
2. *Heshâm ben Abd-ar-rahman*	هشام بن عبد الرهمن	171	787
3. *Al-Hâkam ben Heshâm Marthad*	الحاكم بن هشام مرثد	180	796
4. *Abd-ar-rahman II. ben Al-Hâkam Al-Modhaffer*	عبد الرحمن بن الحاكم المظفر	206	821
5. *Muhammed ben Abd-ar-rahman*	محمد بن عبد الرحمن	238	852
6. *Al-Mondzer ben Muhammed*	المنذر بن محمد	273	886
7. *Abd-allah ben Muhammed*	عبد الله بن محمد	276	889
8. *Abd-ar-rahman III. Al-Nâser ledîn-illah*	عبد الرحمن الناصر لدين الله	300	912

9. *Al-*

9. *Al-Hakam ben Abd-ar-rahman Al-Mostanser-billah*	الحكم بن عبد الرحمن المستنصر بالله	350	961
10. *Heshâm ben Al-Hakam Al-Muwaiyad-billah*	هشام بن الحكم المويد بالله	366	976
11. *Muhammed ben Heshâm Al-Mahdi-billah*	محمد بن هشام المهدي بالله	399	1008
12. *Soleimân ben Hakam*	سليمان بن حكم	400	1009
11. *Muhammed Al-Mahdi* (again)	محمد المهدي	400	1009
10. *Heshâm Al-Mowaiyad* (again)	هشام المويد	400	1009
12. *Soleimân ben Hakam Al-Mostaïn billah* (again)	سليمان بن حكم المستعين بالله	403	1012
13. *Ali ben Hamûd Nâser ledîn-illah*	علي بن حمود ناصر لدين الله	407	1016
14. *Al-Kâsem ben Hamûd Al-Mamûn*	القاسم بن حمود امامون	408	1017
15. *Yahîa ben Ali ben Hamûd*	يحيي بن علي بن حمود	412	1021
16. *Abd-ar-rahman ben Heshâm Al-Mostadher-billah*	عبد الرحمن بن هشام المستظهر بالله	414	1023
17. *Muhammed ben Abd-ar-rahman Al-Mostakfi*	محمد بن عبد الرحمن المستكفي	415	1024
15. *Yahîa ben Ali* (again)	يحيي بن علي	415	1024
18. *Heshâm ben Muhammed Al-Mòtad-billah*	هشام بن محمد المعتد بالله	418	1027

With this khalif, who according to some writers was surnamed *Al-Mòtamed ala'llah* المعتمد على الله, and who fell the victim of a popular tumult in the year 422 (1030), the *Ommiah* dynasty in Spain, which had subsisted (with some interruption) for nearly three centuries, is considered as having terminated. The territory remaining to the mussulman or moorish race being thenceforth (as it had long been to a certain degree) divided amongst as many independent chiefs as there were walled towns and strong holds in those southern provinces.

CCCXXIV.

BY THE GOVERNMENT OF *ANDALUSIA,*

UNDER

هشام بن عبدالملك *HESHÂM BEN ABD-AL-MALEK,*

Eleventh khalif of the race of Ommiah.

SILVER, An. 124.

I. AREA. First symbol.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالندلس
سنه اربه وعشرين ومايه

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in *Andalus* (*Kortubah*, Corduba s. Cordova), anno 124 (741).

II. AREA. Symbol peculiar to the *Ommiah* dynasty, very imperfect.

MARGIN. Second symbol. (1 dw. 15 gr.)

This dirhem belongs to a period antecedent to the dynasty of khalifs of the *Ommiah* family established in Spain, and might without impropriety have been classed with the coins struck by the khalifs of the East, already described; but the rude style of workmanship and the general appearance of the money, which bears no resemblance to that of Damascus or *Wâset*, but exactly corresponds with the type of the succeeding Spanish coins, determine it to appertain more peculiarly to the latter series; and in this arrangement I am justified by the example of my learned predecessor T. C. Tychsen.(1) From the distinct date of 124 we know that it was struck under the khalifat of *Heshâm*, who died in the following year, and, of course, by the authority of the *Amîr* who ruled over one or more of the southern provinces of the peninsula, without much effective controul on the part of his Syrian masters. Its inscription conforms exactly to the Eastern prototype in containing the celebrated

(1) Comment. Soc. Gott. vol. XIV. "De numis Arabico-Hispanicis." I. "De numis sub Chalifis Damascenis in Hispania cusis." p. 77.

celebrated passage from *surah* CXII. of the *korân*, which asserts the Unity, Eternity, and incorporeal nature of the Deity, and in omitting to express the name of the reigning khalif. SILVER, An. 124.

Instead of the proper name of the city where the coinage took place, which was قرطبه *Kortubah* or Cordova, the capital of the Mahometan dominions in that country, the Arabians have thought proper to style it مدينة الاندلس *Medînah-al-Andalus* or city of *Andalus*, a corruption of Andalusia, which name they likewise apply to the kingdom of Spain in general.

Two of these Spanish provincial coins, anterior in date to the year 124, have been brought into notice by our later numismatic writers, and which, notwithstanding some ambiguous circumstances attending their legends, have a presumptive claim to being so classed. The first is a dirhem of the year 100, belonging to the Nanian Collection, and described by Simone Assemani (Museo Cufico Nan. n. LII. p. LXXXVI.) who supposed it to have been coined at Waset, in Babylonian Irak, but says: "Nel margine della prima parte ho lasciato in bianco il nome della Città dove fu battuta la Moneta, poichè non l'ho potuto rilevare." The other, of the year 123, is described by Adler (Mus. Cuf. Borgianum, n. I. p. 46.) and by him, in like manner, pronounced, but with more confidence, to be from the mint of *Wâset*. I agree, however, with the Professors Tychsen, and chiefly from the general character of the two specimens as exhibited in the engravings respectively, that both were coined in Andalusia, and consequently take precedence of mine in point of date.

No dinar or other gold coin from a Spanish mint presents itself until after the conquest of the southern provinces by the African princes of the *Morabetîn* or Almoravite dynasty, towards the close of the fifth century of the *hejrah*.

CCCXXV.

CCCXXV.

الحاكم بن هشام *AL-HÂKAM BEN HESHAM,*

Third khalif of Spain.

SILVER, An. 182.

I. AREA. First symbol.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالاندلس
سنه اثنين و ثمانين و ميه

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in *Andalus (Kortubah)*, anno 182 (798).

II. AREA. *Ommiah* symbol.

MARGIN. Second symbol. (1 dw. 13 gr.)

Of the first and second of the khalifs of Spain, or Western khalifs as they are often termed, there are not any coins in this Collection. Several, however, are in existence, and particularly one of *Abd-ar-rahman al-dakhel* or the Stranger, of the year 155 (771) preserved in the Göttingen cabinet and described by T. C. Tychsen, and another of *Heshâm*, son of the former, bearing the date of 177 (793), which belonged to the Royal Academy of Madrid. The dirhem here described was struck two years after the accession of *Al-Hâkam ben Heshâm*, the third khalif. It is in perfect preservation, and the characters are more simple in their form than on the dirhem of 124. The other coins of this reign are of the years 191, 193, 194, 196, 198, 199, and 206, all from the mint of *Andalus* or *Kortubah*. The tenour of the inscriptions is uniform throughout, and in a series of thirty-one dirhems, to the year 264 inclusive, scarcely any variety is observable even in the style of the engraving.

CCCXXVI. CCCXXVII.

عبد الرحمن بن الحاكم *ABD-AR-RAHMAN BEN AL-HÂKAM,*

Fourth khalif.

I. Area.	First symbol.	Silver, An. 217.
Margin.	Cuditur in *Andalus*, anno 217 (832).	
II. Area.	*Ommiah* symbol.	
Margin.	Second symbol. (1 dw. 10½ gr. 1 dw. 14 gr.)	

The dirhems of this reign in the Collection are of the years 217, 219, 222, 227, 233, 234, 235, 237, and 238, and do not present any variety in the legend that requires notice. It is stated by De Guignes (Hist. des Huns, t. 1. part 1. p. 357), and, on his authority, by Adler (Mus. Cuf. Borg. p. 15) that this able and magnificent prince, the patron of arts and science, who constructed some works of great public utility, was the first of the Spanish khalifs by whom money was coined, his predecessors having made use of such as was imported from Asia. This mistake of the learned and generally accurate historian of very obscure dynasties, needs only to be pointed out.

The die for the year 233 is evidently cut by a different hand from those employed on the coins of preceding years, and the characters are more compact.

CCCXXVIII.—CCCXXX.

محمد بن عبد الرحمن *MUHAMMED BEN ABD-AR-RAHMAN,*

Fifth khalif.

I. Area.	First symbol.	Silver, An. 239.
Margin.	Cuditur in *Andalus*, anno 239 (853).	
		II. Area.

SILVER, An. 239.

II. AREA. *Ommiah* symbol.

MARGIN. Second symbol.

(1 dw. 7 gr. imperf. 1 dw. 8½ (240) perfect.)

The dirhems of this reign, which began in 238, are of the years 239, 240, 244, 245 (indistinct), 246, 256, 257, 263, and 264, all of them, likewise, coined at the mint of *Andalus* or Cordova. No variety amongst them is observable, excepting in those of 245 and 246, where, at the bottom of the first symbol, we find a word that may be read معاد *Mòâd*, and be supposed a proper name.

Of the reigns of *Al-Mondzer* and *Abd-allah*, the sons and successors of this khalif, no coins appear in this Collection. The preceding series, with the exception of a few specimens that have been added, were dug up in Spain, not many years since, and purchased there by a Mr. Potter. When they came into my possession (1806) they were mostly encrusted with the clay in which they had been buried.

The weight of the dirhems of this reign is so irregular (from 1 dw. 1 gr. 1.8½, 1.10, to 1.16) as to occasion a doubt whether they might not have passed under different denominations.

CCCXXXI.—CCCXXXIV.

عبد الرحمن بن محمد الناصر لدين الله *ABD-AR-RAHMAN III. BEN MUHAMMED AL-NÂSER-LEDÎN-ILLAH,*

Eighth khalif.

SILVER, An. 328.

I. AREA. First symbol. محمد *Muhammed* s. مهد

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بمدينه الزهرا
سنه ثمان وعشرين وثلث مايه

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in urbe *Zehra*, anno 328 (940).

II. AREA.

II. Area. * الامام الناصر لدين الله عبد الرحمن امير المومنين Silver, An. 328.

Imâm Al-Náser ledín-illah Abd-ar-rahman, imperator fidelium.

Margin. Second symbol.

(1 dw. 21½ gr. 2 dw. 3 gr. 1 dw. 20 gr. 2 dw. 20 gr.)

With this khalif, who was raised to the throne in the year 300 (912), out of the regular line of succession, and reigned fifty years, the coinage underwent a considerable change; but, unfortunately, as it improved in historical interest, it seems to have lost in point of workmanship and distinctness of character. Nothing, indeed, can be more obscure than the most part of the legends.

It is stated by the Arabian historians that about twenty-seven years after the accession of *Abd-ar-rahman,* being one year previous to the date of this dirhem, he assumed, in imitation of the Fatimite princes of Africa, the title of Commander of the Faithful,(1) and accordingly we here find his name at full length, preceded by the religious title of *Al-Imâm,* and followed by that of *Amîr-al-mumenîn,* being the earliest of its appearance on any Spanish coin of this collection. Another innovation almost as remarkable was that of his omitting the sentence (from *surah* cxii. of the *korân*) peculiar to the coins of the house of *Ommiah,* and which, up to that period, had been invariably inscribed on them.

The name of محمد *Muhammed* (if it be not مهد *mahadda* 'May God amend!') at the bottom of the first symbol, and which cannot be connected with any phrase applicable to the Prophet, may be presumed to have belonged to the minister or the superintendant of the mint. It occurs, in the same manner, on a dirhem of 339 described by T. C. Tychsen, "De numis Arab. Hisp." p. 79.

The city of زهرا *Zehra* where it was struck, and where the mint appears to

(1) "Primus erat inter principes Andalusiæ Ommiadicos, qui titulum Chalifis proprium, Emir el-Mumenin (seu principis fidelium), sibi arrogavit. Nam antea simpliciter privatim publiceque Emiri et filii (seu e progenie) chalifarum salutabantur. Neque ipse noster Abd-er-Rahman primis viginti septem imperii annis hac de consuetudine deflectebat." Abulfedæ Ann. Moslem. t. II. p. 471. The readings of one or two coins have been adduced to shew that the title was assumed at an earlier period, but their accuracy is questionable, and the decisive assertion of the historian is justified by what appears in this collection.

SILVER, An. 328. to have been established until a period subsequent to the year 356, was built by this distinguished khalif a few miles from *Kortubah* or Cordova, near the foot of the Sierra Morena.(2) The name of *Zehra* (which seems to have escaped the critical eye of the professor(3)) signifies "resplendent," and its beauty is a frequent theme with the Moorish writers.

At the top of Area II. there is a conspicuous asterisk.

Three dirhems of the same khalif follow in the collection, which differ only in their dates, being of the years 337 (948), 337 (949), and 344 (955), and in the greater or less degree of obliteration in their legends. Their variety in this respect serves, however, to throw light, reciprocally, upon parts that would be otherwise obscure. All of them exhibit at the bottom of Area I. the name supposed to be *Muhammed*, for which, on the first coin of the next reign, another is substituted. In the dirhem of 337 there is an asterisk at the top of Area II. and at the bottom, what resembles the head of a spear or a fleur-de-lis; both of which are wanting on those of 338 and 344. The characters throughout are uncouth, and the ب of عبد in particular is quite perverted. The difference in weight of the four coins is remarkable.

CCCXXXV.

الحكم المستنصر بالله *AL-HAKAM*, SURNAMED *AL-MOSTANSER BILLAH*,

Ninth khalif.

SILVER, An. 356.

I. AREA. First symbol. مهد s. ماعد

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بمدينة الزهرا
سنه ست وخمسين وثلث مايه

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in urbe *Zehra*, anno 356 (966).

II. AREA.

(2) "C'est ce prince (says De Guignes) qui a bâti la ville de Zahra." Hist. gén. des Huns, t. I. p. 358. "Ce prince, malgré les guerres continuelles qu'il eut à soutenir durant son règne, bâtit une nouvelle ville, à trois milles de Cordoue, à laquelle il donna le nom de *Zehra*." Cordonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, t. I. p. 330. ed. 1765.

(3) Describing a coin of this khalif, of the year 339, he says, "Urbis nomen obscurum;" and another

II. AREA. عبد الامام الحكم اميو المومنين المستنصر بالله الرحمن SILVER, An. 356.

Abd- Imâm Al-Hakam imperator Fidelium, *Al-Mostanser billah. -ar-rahman.*

MARGIN. Second symbol (abbreviated). (1 dw. 16¼ gr.)

In this dirhem of *Al-Hakam* the son of *Abd-ar-rahman*, the name of the father of the reigning khalif occupies the space at top and bottom of Area II., and seems to have been introduced from a sentiment of filial piety, as a tribute of respect to the memory of that venerable monarch, whose death, after a reign of uncommon duration, had taken place but a few years before, and who had first adopted the practice of inscribing the name and title of the sovereign on the coinage.(1).

Al-Mostanser, the surname of *Al-Hakam*, is corrupted in the text of Abu'lfeda to *Al-Montasar* المنتصر. Annal. Moslem. ed. Adleri, t. II. p. 473, et Adnotat. 360. By D'Herbelot he is erroneously named *Mostacar* and *Mostaker*. De Guignes, on the contrary, correctly writes the word, *Mostanser*. Hist. gén. des Huns, t. I. p. 358.

The characters are for the most part more distinct and legible than on the coins of the preceding reign; yet the name at the bottom of Area I. (which replaces that of محمد *Muhammed*) cannot be satisfactorily read, the last letter being particularly ambiguous.

another of 360, in the khalifat of his successor, "Urbis nomen, attritis literis, nescio an recte legeris, &c." Comment. de Num. Ar. Hisp. pp. 79, 80.

(1) T. C. Tychsen in commenting on a coin similar to this, but of the year 355, described by Assemani, and adverting to the name of *Abd-ar-rahman*, which the learned Italian supposed to belong to *Al-Hakam*, says: "Videtur potius Præfecti nomen esse, qualia in aliis numis occurrunt." De num. Africo-Hispanicis Comment. p. 79. I cannot, however, but think it more probable that the name of the deceased khalif should, under such peculiar circumstances, have been retained, than that the minister of the successor should adopt a surname or titular appellation (the slave of the Merciful or servant of God) that had become so famous as belonging to his late sovereign. It may, indeed, be intended for *Ben Abd-ar-rahman*, as this khalif was commonly termed.

CCCXXXVI.

هشام بن الحكم المويد بالله *HESHÂM BEN AL-HAKAM, AL-MUWAIYAD BILLAH,*

Tenth khalif.

BILLON, An. 366-392.

I. AREA. First symbol, much defaced.

MARGIN. بسم الله ..... بمدينه .....

In nomine Dei ... (Place and date obliterated).

II. AREA. عماد الدولة الامام هشام المويد بالله ا....ر محمد

Imâd ed-daulat (columna imperii) *Imâm Heshâm Al-Muwaiyad-billah A(bú Ame)r Muhammed.*

MARGIN. Second symbol, partially defaced.

In the examination of this coin of *Heshâm* the son of *Al-Hakam*, the metal of which appears to be a mixture of about two third parts of copper and one of silver, if not of tin, some peculiarities present themselves, which are the less satisfactorily explained, in consequence of its imperfect state of preservation. The characters, with respect to their form, are distinct, and the inscriptions of Area and Margin II. are quite legible, but on the Margin of I., where the place and date should be found, they are nearly obliterated.

An approximation within certain limits may, however, be made to the latter, which must have fallen between the period of the year 366, when this khalif began to reign, and 392, when his minister named *Abú Amer Muhammed* died. It is to this person, who was the tutor of his minority and who continued to exercise all the powers of government, that the appellation of *Imâd ed-daulat* or a pillar of the state was given, in imitation of the titles borne by the *Búyah* or *Bûiad* dynasty at Baghdâd,

dâd, who successively held the high office of *Amîr al-omra* and kept in a state of tutelage the Abbassite khalifs.(1) BILLON, An. 366-392.

Of the name or names of this minister, under whose authority the coin we are now describing was struck, only that of محمد *Muhammed* appears at full length, but as it is preceded by an ا *alif*, with a ر *ra* at top, I have little doubt of these being a contraction, and intended for the initial and final letters of ابو عامر *Abû Amer*, the space not admitting of the whole words. As a middle term therefore we may assign to this piece, which I do not venture to call a *fels* or obolus, the date of 380. One, of the same khalif, and also exhibiting the title of *Imâd ed-daulat*, is described by O. G. Tychsen (Introduct. p. 133). The name of *Ahmed*, however, as there read, seems to be erroneous, and the date of 395 is inconsistent with the identity of the celebrated minister, who died three years before. It is possible indeed, although not warranted by the histories of the period, that he might have been succeeded in his high office and paramount influence, by a son or other person so named; but I rather suspect mistakes both in the name and the date, and with the less hesitation, because the coin next described by the learned professor, is equally said to contain that of *Ahmed*, although with the date of 390, being two years before the death of *Abû Amer Muhammed*, whose name will hereafter be observed on coins of 386, 388, and 391.

CCCXXXVII.

هشام المويد بالله *HESHÂM AL-MOWAIYAD BILLAH.*

I. AREA. First symbol. SILVER, An. 386.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالاندلس
سنه ست وثمانين ا

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in *Andalus*, anno (3)86 (996).

2 T 2 II. AREA.

(1) "Successit ipsi filius, a patre designatus, Hescham, sub titulo Movaiiad billah, decem tunc annorum puer. Hujus, ut regno gerendo nondum idonei, regnique curam in se suscipiebat Abu-Amer

SILVER, An. 386.

II. AREA. * الامام هشام امير المومنين
المويد بالله عامر

Imâm Heshâm imperator Fidelium, *Al-Mowaiyad billah. Amer.*

MARGIN. Second symbol, curtailed. (1 dw. 17 gr.)

Here also we find, together with the name of the khalif *Heshâm*, that of his minister and commander of his armies; but without any of the titles of the latter. As in the former piece he was designated by the name of *Muhammed*, so, on this dirhem, he is simply styled عامر *Amer*, each being the abbreviation of *Abû Amer Muhammed*, which we are told by Abu'lfeda was his proper appellation. In consequence of the many victories he obtained over the Christian princes of Spain, the title of *Al-Mansûr* or the conqueror, was commonly bestowed upon him, and by it he is best known in history, although it does not appear on the coinage. His office was properly that of حاجب *hâjib* or chamberlain, which was equivalent to vizir or prime minister.

The first unequivocal instance occurs in the margin of this coin, of a practice very frequent in the sequel, which was that of abbreviating or altogether omitting the century of the date, when the space was unequal to the length of the full inscription, and of substituting the letter ا *alif*, after the decimal, to mark the elision. The numerals here expressed are only 86; but as the reign of the khalif was comprised between the years 366 and 399, no doubt can remain of 386 being the date intended.

At the top of Area I. we perceive three dots or points placed triangularly ∴, and of Area II., an asterisk. The specimen is in complete preservation, and in the style of the engraving it is superior to most of the preceding Spanish coins.

Amer Muhammed; assumebat titulum Mansuri, Hegebum (seu ostiarium) pueri princeps agebat, expediebat ejus nomine mandata, alumni sui videndi adeundique copiam faciebat nemini; ut brevis sim, solus regnabat." Abulf. Annales, t. II. p. 533.

CCCXXXVIII.

هشام المويد بالله *HESHÂM AL-MOWAIYAD-BILLAH.*

I. Area. First symbol. محمد *Muhammed.* Silver, An. 388.

Margin. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالاندلس
سنه ثمان و ثمانين و ثلا . . . .

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in *Andalus*, anno 388 (998).

II. Area. الامام هشام امير المومنين
المويد بالله عامر

Imâm Heshâm imperator Fidelium, *Al-Mowaiyad-billah. Amer.*

Margin. Second symbol (curtailed).
(2 dw. $1\frac{1}{2}$ gr. 1 dw. $21\frac{1}{2}$ gr.)

In this dirhem the name of *Muhammed* at the bottom of Area I. is to be coupled with that of *Amer*, on the opposite side, in order to form that of the minister. Of the word ثلث, which should express the third century, two letters only appear, the space not admitting of the final letter, nor of the word مايه. The characters in general are more than usually distinct. The marks are, on one side a kind of trident, and on the other, an asterisk.

Another dirhem of the date of 391 differs little from that of 388, but in the entire omission of the century and some variety in the ornaments. The characters, in part from double striking, on one side, are more confused. On a coin of the same date described by T. C. Tychsen, he reads عمر *Omar*, at the bottom of Area I. for عامر *Amer*. Comment. de numis Arab. Hisp. p. 81. On one of 380, with the same inscription, described by Hallenberg, he reads *Oman*, but thinks it may be *Amer*. The ا *alif* quiescent should have been decisive in both cases.

The year subsequent to the date of this coin was marked by the death of that great man, who, during an administration of twenty-six years, had been the terror of the Christians of northern Spain, and whose fame (as I presume) gave celebrity to the name of Almanzor, in the romances of

Silver, An. 388. of that country. In the year 392, however, he was assailed by a powerful confederacy of the princes of Léon, Castille, and Navarre, and in the event of a long and well-contested battle, terminated only by the approach of night, he experienced, from the precipitate flight of his troops, when no longer attacked, all the disasters consequent on a total defeat. *Al-Mansur*, as he is termed, did not long survive this misfortune. "His past triumphs, says Cardonne, could not weigh in his mind against a single reverse, and he died of grief, in the valley of Bogal-Coraxo."(1) His death proved to be the crisis of the fortunes of a declining dynasty.

CCCXXXIX.

هشام المويد بالله *HESHÂM AL-MOWAIYAD-BILLAH.*

Silver, An. 394.

I. Area. First symbol. عبدالملك *Abd-al-Malek.*

Margin. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالاندلس
سنه اربع و تسعين و ثلث . . . .

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in *Andalus*, anno 394 (1003).

II. Area. الحاجب الامام هشام اميز المومنين
المويد بالله عبدالملك

Cubicularius. *Imâm Heshâm* imperator Fidelium, *Al-Mowaiyad-billah. Abd-al-malek.*

Margin. Second symbol (curtailed).
(1 dw. 17 gr. 1 dw. $7\frac{1}{2}$ gr.)

Conformably with the historical circumstances of the period, a change appears on the face of the coins, and on this of 394, instead of the late *Amer*

(1) Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, t. I. p. 362. Abu'lfeda simply notices the event of his death in these words: "Eodem (anno, 392) obiit Abu Amer Muhammed, qui cum Mansuri nomine Andalusiam rexit, summa, præter nomen, cum potestate." Annal. Moslem. t. II. p. 607.

Amer Muhammed (the khalif *Heshâm* being still living) we find the name of his son, *Abd-al-malek*, by whom he was succeeded in his office of حاجب *hâjib* or grand chamberlain and dignity of first minister or administrator, but with talents much inferior.(1) In proof of his vanity, as well as his uncontrouled influence, not only his name appears in Area I. but is repeated on Area II. together with his official title. SILVER, An. 394.

In the date the word مايه (hundred) is omitted, and تسعين ninety is indistinct. The middle line of the First symbol contains some superfluous and ill-formed characters. A dirhem of 395 differs in nothing material from the above. One of 393 described by Adler, Collect. nova, p. 163, is also similar.

CCCXL.

هشام المويد بالله *HESHÂM AL-MOWAIYAD-BILLAH.*

I. AREA. First symbol. شهيد *Shahíd.* SILVER, An. 397.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالاندلس
سنه سبع و تسعين و ثلث مايه

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in *Andalus*, anno 397 (1006).

II. AREA.

(1) " Patri succedebat filius, Abu-Marvan Abd-el-malek in dignitate Majoris, quem appellant, domus,* sub Modafferi titulo." Abulf. Annales, t. II. p. 609. Abdoulmélik, fils d'Almansour, eut toute l'autorité de son pere, sans en avoir l'habilité. Depuis cet instant, les Arabes perdirent la supériorité qu'ils avoient eue jusqu' alors sur les Chrétiens." Cardonne, Hist. &c. t. I. p. 363.

* " Le Hadjeb, dignité qui répond à nos anciens Maires du palais." Cardonne, t. I. p. 325. The simple meaning of the term *al-hajib* is "one who prevents the entrance of intruders," equivalent to janitor; but the office was more properly that of a person who attended the monarch in his private apartments, and excluded others; or his grand chamberlain. Such a privilege naturally afforded him the opportunity of acquiring an ascendency over the mind and a controul over the actions of a weak prince; but the title itself did not imply the possession of a paramount influence and authority.

By O. G. Tychsen, in describing a dirhem of 390, *al-hajib* is rendered by the term " prorex." The name he there reads عبيد *Obeid*, is probably no other than the عامر *Amer* of the years 388 and 391 in this Collection.

Silver, An. 397.

II. Area. الحاجب الامام هشام امير المومنين
المويد بالله عبد الملك

Cubicularius. *Imâm Heshâm* imperator Fidelium, *Al-Mowaiyad-billah. Abd-al-malek.*

Margin. Second symbol (curtailed). (2 dw. 11 gr.)

The peculiarity of this dirhem, the last of those on which the name or title of *Abd-al-malek* appears,(1) is the word شهيد *shahîd*, at the bottom of Area I., which signifies a witness or a martyr; in either of which senses the object of the allusion is quite unknown. It may, however, be a proper name, or possibly the title of an officer who held the civil administration, whilst the former was at the head of the armies, but respecting whom nothing appears in the history of the times.(2)

The characters are sufficiently distinct, although loaded with false ornaments, particularly on one face. It may be observed, indeed, that the two dies are not cut by the same hand, nor in the same style. The inequality in weight of the several dirhems, so like to each other in appearance, is extraordinary.

(1) " Mansit Modaffer *(Abd-al-malek)* eo in munere septennium, adeoque incidit ejus obitus in annum CCCC. Huic succedebat frater, Abd-er-rahman, filius Mansuri Abu Ameri, sub Naseri titulo." Abulfedæ Annal. t. II. p. 609. Cardonne, on the other hand, says: " Il (Abdoulmélik) mourut à Cordoue l'année 1006 (397)." Hist. de l'Afrique &c. t. I. p. 364. It will appear from the next coin described that in the year 399 he was no longer minister.

(2) It is not a little remarkable that in the year 327 (70 years before the date of this coin) a person of the name of *Abd-al-malek ben Shahid* was raised to the dignity of first vizir by the khalif *Abd-ar-rahman*. So exactly do the names agree with these of 397, that I was led to doubt the accuracy of the reading of the coin; but nothing can be more distinctly legible than the تسعين 90 of this dirhem. Vid. Cardonne Hist. &c. p. 320.

CCCXLI.

محمد المهدي بالله *MUHAMMED AL-MAHDI-BILLAH,*

Eleventh khalif.

I. AREA. First symbol. جعفر *Jàfar.* SILVER, An. 399.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالاندلس
سنه تسع و تسعين و ثلث ما . . .

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in *Andalus,* anno 399 (1008).

II. AREA. . . . . الامام محمد امير المومنين
المهدي بالله

Imâm Muhammed imperator Fidelium, *Al-Mahdi-billah.*

MARGIN. Second symbol. (2 dw. 1 gr.)

An usurper having, in the course of the year 399, possessed himself of the government and confined the person of the khalif *Heshâm,* we find upon this dirhem the name *Muhammed Al-Mahdi-billah,* with the usual titles of the khalifat, and in the place of the newly appointed minister, *Abd-ar-rahman* (brother of *Abd-al-malek*),(1) the name of *Jàfar,* respecting whom no mention is made in history.

 This

(1) These transactions are mentioned by Cardonne, from Arabian authorities, in the following terms: "Muhammed Almahadi, de la famille des Ommiades, et parent du Calife, profita de la foiblesse du nouveau ministre, et du mépris où il étoit tombé par ses débauches. Il prit les armes, chassa Abdoulrahman, et se rendit maître de la personne du Calife Haccham." Hist. de l'Afrique &c. t. 1. p. 364. De Guignes supposes that *Heshâm* was dethroned by his *hâjib* or chamberlain, *Muhammed Abu-Amer,* and this material error occasions him to fall into others respecting the subsequent reigns. V. Hist. gén. des Huns, t. 1. p. 358. "*Muhammed* (says Adler) modo laudati *Heschami-al-Movaiied* filius et successor, cum titulo *al-Mahadi billah* Chalifarum Ommiadarum in Hispania sedem occupavit anno 399, tenuit usque ad annum 401, quo *Hescham,* Raschidi filius, ei successit." Collect. nova, p. 164. This is in every circumstance erroneous. *Muhammed Al-Mahdi,* an usurper, was, it is true, the son of *Heshâm,* but not of the khalif *Heshâm Al-Mowaiyad,* whom he dethroned. Further: the next in succession to him (after a struggle with *Soleimân*) was the same *Heshâm Al-Mowaiyad,* who immediately put *Muhammed Al-Mahdi* to death.

SILVER, An. 399. This specimen is covered with a thin black coating, probably given to it, at no very remote period, by means of sulphur. Makrizi, indeed, speaks of الدرهم الإسود drachmæ nigræ; but whatever these might have been, they were current in Egypt, not Spain, and belonged to a later period.

CCCXLII.

محمد المهدي بالله *MUHAMMED AL-MAHDI-BILLAH.*

SILVER, An. 400.

I. AREA. First symbol. محمد *Muhammed.*

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم
بالاندلس سنه اربع ما...

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in *Andalus,* anno 400 (1009).

II. AREA. الامام محمد امير المومنين
المهدي بالله

Imâm Muhammed imperator Fidelium, *Al-Mahdi-billah.*

MARGIN. Second symbol (curtailed).
(2 dw. 14½ gr. 2 dw. 6 gr.)

This dirhem differs from that of the preceding year only in the name of the minister, *Muhammed* being substituted for *Jâfar.* In the then reduced state of the Arabian domination in Spain, these subordinate changes were of too little importance to obtain notice in general history.

Another specimen of the same year resembles it in every material circumstance, although not actually from the same die. One, indeed, has two pear-shaped marks over the First symbol, which the other wants.

CCCXLIII.

محمد المهدي بالله *MUHAMMED AL-MAHDI-BILLAH.*

I. AREA. First symbol. محمد *Muhammed.* BILLON, An. 400.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالاندلس
سنه اربعـ مايه

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in *Andalus,* anno 400 (1009).

II. AREA. الامار الامام محمد امير المومنين
المهدي بالله علي

Al-Amári. Imám Muhammed imperator Fidelium, *Al-Mahdi-billah. Ali.*

MARGIN. Second symbol (curtailed).

The coins of a mixed metal, being copper with a small proportion of silver (of which there are seven in the Collection, between the years 400 and 402 inclusive) must have been issued when the pecuniary distresses of the ruling power were of an urgent nature, as in their inscriptions they are declared to be dirhems, and were evidently current as substitutes for, and probably at the rate of the silver money. It is remarkable that their legends are more circumstantial than those of a real dirhem of the same year.

The name of *Muhammed,* at the bottom of Area I. is the same (to whomsoever it may apply) as in the silver dirhem, but that of الامار *Al-Amári,* which appears at the top of Area II., preceding the title of the khalif, is new, and must be presumed to belong to the person whom Cardonne (by no means correct in his orthography of proper names) calls *Mahari,* Roderic of Toledo (by whom they are almost all disfigured) *Huade Al-Hameri,* and by Abu'lfeda, واضح العامري *Wadheh Al-Ameri;* the *hájib,* chamberlain, or minister of *Al-Mahdi,* who governed the country in his

BILLON, An. 400. name.[1] The word at the bottom of the same Area, which occurs on all of these coins, in characters that may be almost thought designedly inferior in distinctness to the rest of the legend, seems to be intended for علي *Ali.* It is followed by an asterisk.

With respect to the date, though there is no reasonable doubt of its being meant to express اربعمايه or the fourth century completed, the characters, upon two specimens, seem rather to be اربعين ما or forty hundred, which has no signification. The graphic art, it should be observed, was at a low ebb, in Spain, during these contentions (if not at all preceding periods) and every date is more or less imperfect.

CCCXLIV.

هشام المويد بالله *HESHAM AL-MOWAIYAD-BILLAH (restored).*

SILVER, An. 401.

I. AREA. First symbol. عبدالله *Abd-allah.*

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالاندلس
سنه احدي واربع ...

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in *Andalus,* anno 401 (1010).

II. AREA. الامام هشام امير المومنين
المويد بالله

Imâm Heshâm imperator Fidelium, *Al-Mowaiyad-billah.*

MARGIN. Second symbol (curtailed). (1 dw. 21½ gr.)

A defeat sustained by the usurper, in a battle fought, under the walls of Cordova, with *Soleimân ben Hakam* (from Africa) a near relation of the

(1) " Cette bataille (says Cardonne, speaking of an event that took place a few years later) rétablit l'autorité de Méhédi, ou plutôt de Mahari qui, sous le nom de cet usurpateur, jouissoit du pouvoir souverain." Hist. de l'Afrique &c. t. I. p. 368. Of the same person the Archbishop of Toledo says: " Erat autem Alhagib Almahadi quidam qui Alhameri vocabatur." Hist. Arabum, Cap. XXXIII. " Et quia Alhagib Alhameri felicitatem hujus procurarat, suo officio restitutus omnia disponebat, Almahadi autem solo nomine præsidebat." Cap. XXXIV.

the deposed khalif, rendered it necessary that he should produce to the people of that city the person of *Heshâm* whom he had confined (or of another pageant in his room, if he had really put him to death), and to restore him to the throne. We accordingly again find his name, upon this dirhem of the year 400, whilst upon other coins bearing the same date, we have the name of *Muhammed Al-Mahdi.* At the bottom of Area I. appears also that of *Abd-allah,* probably a nominal minister, if not the son of the latter, whom Cardonne (p. 370) names *Abdoullah,* and Roderic, *Obeydalla.* Cap. xxxv. SILVER, An. 401.

CCCXLV.

محمد المهدي بالله *MUHAMMED AL-MAHDI-BILLAH.*

I. AREA. First symbol. محمد *Muhammed.* BILLON, An. 401.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالاندلس
سنه احدي و اربع مايه

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma (s. hic obolus) in *Andalus,* anno 401 (1010).

II. AREA. الامام محمد امير المومنين
المهدي بالله علي

Al-Amâri. Imâm Muhammed, imperator Fidelium, *Al-Mahdi-billah. Ali?*

MARGIN. Second symbol (curtailed).

Whether this coin, of which there are three specimens, was struck by *Al-Mahdi* previously or subsequently to the reappearance of *Heshâm,* cannot be determined. The probability is, that his minister and general *Al-Amâri,* (the *Mahari* of Cardonne) coined the base money we are describing, in order to pay his troops, without giving much attention to the political changes that were taking place. The name of علي *Ali,* found

Billon, An. 401. found on it as on the former dirhem, is still in characters scarcely legible. The unit احدي one, is distinct on two of the specimens, but designedly effaced on a third, and اربع ما 400, is likewise seen upon one of them, whilst the century is omitted on the other two.

Of the year 402 there are two specimens, with legends precisely similar (the date excepted) to the above. The word اثنين two, is perfect; but of the century nothing appears excepting a م .

CCCXLVI.

سليمان المستعين بالله *SOLEIMÂN AL-MOSTAÎN-BILLAH,*

Thirteenth khalif.

Billon, An. (403).

I. Area. First symbol. سليمان *Soleimân.**

Margin. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بمدينه شبليه سنه . . . .

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in urbe *Shebillîah* (Sevilla) anno . . . .

II. Area. * الحاجب عماد الدولة محمد رسول الله م . . . .

Cubicularius, *Imâd ed-daulat* (columna imperii). Muhammed est legatus Dei. *M* . . . .

Margin. Second symbol, imperfect.

Upon the deposition of *Heshâm Al-Mowaiyad* by *Muhammed Al-Mahdi*, which was effected about the year 399, *Soleimân*, the nephew of the former, who had resided in Barbary, crossed over to Spain for the avowed purpose of revenging his wrongs. Assisted by one of the Christian princes, he defeated the usurper, and took possession of the capital and the government, in 403.

The

BILLON, An. (403).

The date of this coin (which the inscription calls a dirhem) is, unfortunately, wanting, having been destroyed by cutting out a bit of the metal, and we cannot be certain whether the coinage took place during the first portion of his divided reign, which lasted only seven months, and ended with the loss of a battle that restored *Al-Mahdi* to a temporary possession of the throne, in 403 or 404, or, when he again, for something less than two years, enjoyed the sovereignty, about 406 and 407. The former, however, seems the more probable, from the circumstance of neither the title of Commander of the Faithful, nor the name of *Al-Mostaïn-billah*, which, according to Abu'lfeda, he assumed on the latter occasion, appearing in the legend.(1) His original name of *Soleimân* stands simply at the end of the first symbol, whilst the whole of Area II. is occupied by the titles of his *hâjib* or minister. Yet the name of this person, forming the last line, is illegible; not from obliteration, but from what seems an affected perversion of the characters, although the general style of the engraving is distinct and handsome; the performance, probably, of an artist brought with him from Africa. The surfaces of the specimen are remarkable, in not being flat, but concave and convex. There is an asterisk at the top of both Areas.

The name of the city of Sevilla or Seville, is here (indistinctly) as well as in the following dirhem, written شبليه *Shebillîah*, but at a later period we find it اشبليه *Ishbillîah*.

(1) Annales Moslem. t. III. p. 5. T. C. Tychsen, from Casiri, mentions a coin of the Madrid cabinet which contains the words *Al-Mostaïn-billah*, with the title of Commander of the Faithful, to which the latter assigned the date of 399, but which the former (from the inspection of a cast) thinks should rather be 408. De num. Arab. Hispan. p. 84. It is more likely to be of the year 406.

CCCXLVII.

CCCXLVII.

علي بن حمود ناصر لدين الله *ALI BEN HAMÛD NÂSER LEDÎN-ILLAH,*

Fourteenth khalif.

SILVER, An. 407.

I. AREA. First symbol.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بمدينه
شبليه سنه سبع واربع ....

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in urbe *Shebilliah* (Sevilla) anno 407 (1016).

II. AREA. ولي العهد الامام محمد امير
المومنين الناصر لدين الله علي

Tutor fœderis s. hæres constitutus. *Imâm Muhammed* imperator Fidelium *Al-Náser ledín-illah. Ali.*

MARGIN. Second symbol. (2 dw. 10½ gr.)

This silver coin, the date of which is indubitable, exhibits some peculiarities illustrative of the history of the times. We have seen that in consequence of the defeat sustained by *Soleimân* in 404, *Al-Mahdi* regained the usurped throne from which he had been driven. By a conspiracy of the eunuchs of the palace, who received encouragement from the *hâjib Al-Amâri*, he was, however, within a short period, deposed, and by the orders of *Heshâm*, who was once more drawn from confinement and restored to the sovereignty, immediately put to death: a fate which likewise soon after attended the *hâjib* himself, being detected in a traiterous correspondence with *Soleimân*. This active chief had in the mean time employed himself in collecting a force that soon enabled him to regain possession of Cordova, from whence *Heshâm* was suffered by the inhabitants to make his escape. But although this unfortunate khalif was never more heard of, *Soleimân* did not long remain undisturbed. A person named خيران *Kheirân*, who was a zealous partizan of the fugitive, exerted himself to obtain the cooperation of all those who were attached to

to his interests, and also invited from Africa, a man of consideration named *Ali ben Hamúd*, the governor of Sebtah or Ceuta, to whom he offered the throne, on the condition of *Heshám's* being reinstated, whenever he should be found. By means of this confederacy *Soleimán* was again overpowered, made prisoner, and by *Ali* put to death, in the year 407; when the latter assumed the title of *Náser ledín-illah*. His tenure of the sovereignty proved as uncertain as that of his predecessors. In the following year (408) he found it necessary to counteract the machinations of the same *Kheirán*, who having taken umbrage at his conduct, and apprehending for the safety of his own person, endeavoured to raise up a competitor in *Abd-ar-rahman*, surnamed المرضي *Al-Murthadi*; but when on the point of marching an army against him, he was assassinated in the bath by his own domestics. By this khalif, and in the year of his accession, this dirhem must have been coined. SILVER, An. 407.

The name of *Muhammed*, in the second line of Area II., is in every sense obscure, but as it follows immediately the title of *Imám*, assumed by all the khalifs of this period, we must consider it as belonging to the sovereign, and probably as standing in connexion with that of علي *Ali*, which forms, by extension, the last line of that Area.

The words ولي العهد, at the top of the same Area, signify (as has been observed in describing coins of the Abbassite dynasty) tutor fœderis, hæres constitutus, and were generally, if not always applied to an heir apparent, whose succession the khalifs endeavoured to secure, by this manifestation of their designs. Here the object of this intruder on the sovereignty seems to have been different, and as he was, or affected to be thought a descendant of Ali, the nephew and son-in-law of the Prophet, he may have intended, by this formula, to assert his own hereditary and constitutional right to the khalifat. With him a new, but short dynasty is understood to have commenced; that of the Ali-ites or Alides of the French writers, as distinguished from the Ommiades or race of *Ommiah*. From *Hamúd* the father of *Ali* and *Kâsem*, they are also termed Hamudites or *Beni Hamúd*.

The workmanship is in the bad style of the former dirhems, and by no means partakes of the beauty of the coin of *Suleimán* last described. It is ornamented with asterisks, and at the bottom of Area I. with three

 circles.

SILVER, An. 407. circles. It may be observed as a peculiarity of these Mauro-Spanish coins, that the words بسم الله, commencing the marginal inscription, which should be circular, are generally placed in a horizontal line at the top of the First symbol, so as to give them the appearance of connecting with the sentence in the Area.

CCCXLVIII.

القاسم بن حمود المامون *AL-KASEM BEN HAMÛD AL-MAMÛN.*

SILVER, (small).

I. AREA. لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

Non est deus nisi Deus. Muhammed est legatus Dei. (Third symbol).

II. AREA. المامون امير ناصر الدين ..... بن علي

Al-Mamún Amír (imperator) *Náser-ed-dín .... ben Ali.* (14½ gr.)

This small and neat silver coin, in perfect preservation, is unfortunately without date or name of place; but from the name of المامون *Al-Mamún*, which was assumed by قاسم *Kásem*, the brother and successor of *Ali ben Hamúd*, we must presume it to have been struck by him, and especially as these brothers boasted a descent from Ali, the son-in law of the Prophet; to which the last name in the legend may be thought to allude. With respect to the word immediately preceding that name, however plain the characters, I am unable to combine them in a satisfactory manner. They seem to form حطين or لطين; but these, as is well known, may be changed to others by the application of diacritical points, which do not belong to the Cufic alphabet. Neither in Abu'lfeda nor in the Escurial manuscripts published by Casiri, does it appear that he annexed to his name the title or epithet of *Náser-ed-dín*, as his brother did that of *Náser ledín-illah*; but omissions of this kind, by the historians of obscure and disturbed periods, are not without example. That

That the word امير imperator is not followed by المومنين fidelium, may be attributed to the want of sufficient space in an Area so confined. SILVER, (small).

As the weight of the dirhem last described was $58\frac{1}{2}$ grs., and this is $14\frac{1}{2}$, it may be considered as a quarter-dirhem, of which no other specimen has occurred.

CCCXLIX.

محمد المعتمد علي الله *MUHAMMED AL-MÒTAMED ALA'LLAH,*

Of the race of عباد Àbâd, *prince of Seville.*

I. AREA. First symbol. الرشيد *Al-Rashíd.* COPPER, An. 470.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بمدينه
اشبيليه سنه سبعين وا

In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in urbe *Ishbilliah* (Sevilla) anno 470 (1077).

II. AREA. المعتمد علي الامام عبيدالله امير المومنين
المويد بنصر الله الله

Al-Mòtamed ala'llah. Imâm Obeidallah imperator Fidelium *Al-Muwaiyad be-nasr-allah.*

MARGIN. Second symbol (curtailed).

Al-Mòtamed ala'llah, ruler of Seville, by whom this handsome imitation of the dirhem was coined, in the year 470, was the last prince of the race of *Abâd* بني عباد, which had subsisted from the extinction of the *Ommiah* dynasty in Spain. He succeeded his father in 461, and in 478, in conjunction with the chiefs of other cities, who were attacked by Alfonso VI. king of Leon and Castille, called to their assistance a powerful Mauritanian king named *Yûsuf ben Tâshfín*, by whom their Christian enemy was defeated in a great battle fought near Badajoz, in 479, but who availed himself of his superior force to subdue his friends also, and

COPPER, AR. 470. in the year 484 sent this prince, whose talents and accomplishments are highly extolled, to a prison in Africa, where he died.(1)

According to the Arabian historians his names were *Muhammed Abu'l-kasem Al-Mòtamed ala'llah*, together with *Al-Muwaiyad*; most of which appear upon the coin, and in addition, those of *Obeidallah* or *Abd-allah*, and of *be-nasr-allah* annexed to *Al-Muwaiyad*, signifying, "confirmed by the assistance of God." The epithet likewise of *Al-Rashîd* or "the dispenser of justice," at the bottom of Area I. is not found in history; and from the unusual number of names and titles here accumulated, there is reason to suspect that they may not all be designed for the reigning prince. Amongst those of the eldest son of *Al-Mòtamed* we discover some of the names last noticed.(2)

The characters on this coin are remarkably distinct and chaste, and the execution altogether would not disgrace the best period of the graphic art applied to Cufic inscriptions. It will be observed that some of the letters (ڈ and ڍ) have the modern diacritical points; and that the word علي at the end of the first line in Area II. is to be connected with الله in the last line, to form علي الله *ala'llah*, or *Mòtamed ala'allah* "one who places his confidence in God." Of the century in the date, only the letter ا *alif* is expressed, the engraver having encroached upon the space at the end by an unnecessary extension of some preceding words in the marginal sentence.

(1) In the Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana of Casiri we find the following notices of this prince: "*In ejus locum* (anno 461) *suffectus est filius Mohamad Abulcassemus* Almotamed Alalla dictus ..... *princeps fortitudine, eruditione et munificentia spectatissimus* .... Regno pulsus anno 484, in oppido Agmeti fato concessit anno 488." "Illum (regnum) excepit ... Almotamed, alias Aldhapher, et Almuaied etiam vocitatus." Tom. II. p. 210. By Cardonne he is named Mehémed ben Abad. T. II. p. 184. Of *Yûsuf ben Tâshfin* there will be occasion to speak particularly in the sequel.

(2) "Filios reliquit quatuor, quorum primus Mohamad Obaidalla Alraschidæus." Bibl. Hispan. p. 210.

MORÂBETÎN OR *MARABÛT* DYNASTY

OF

AFRICA AND SPAIN.

Not long before the extermination of the Zeïrite dynasty in the eastern part of Africa,(1) another power, that became much more distinguished in history, arose in the western regions. The Arab tribes of which it was originally composed had accompanied *Mûsa*, the first mussulman conqueror of Spain, through Egypt and Lybia, but quitted his army before it embarked at *Tanjah* or Tangier, and retired to the desert of *Sahara*, where they established themselves. Being at this period in a state of ignorance as to the practices of religion, and little removed from heathenism, a person amongst them of superior talents, named جوهر *Jauhar*, was prompted to undertake the pilgrimage to Mecca, and on his return, by the way of *Kairawân*, connected himself there with a professor of mussulman law, whose name was عبدالله بن ياسين *Abd-allah ben Yâsin*. With the cooperation of this person he undertook to instruct and civilise his own and the other associated tribes; in which their efforts met with ample success. By the accession of proselytes from the surrounding country, their numbers were so considerably increased, as to render it expedient that they should make choice of a spiritual and temporal

(1) The founder of this was named *Yûsuf ben Zeïrî*, to whom the Fatimite khalif, *Mòazz ledîn-illah*, in the year 362–972, committed or relinquished the government of the province of Africa, when he himself proceeded to Egypt and took possession of *Kâhirah*, his newly erected capital: on which occasion little more appears to have been reserved by the khalif than the right of investiture, and the family of *Yûsuf* soon became independent and powerful. In a state of perpetual warfare with the neighbouring tribes of *Maghrebîs* and *Brebers*, with their late masters the Fatimites of Egypt, the Greeks, and lastly with the Franks of Sicily, the dynasty subsisted, under eight or nine princes, until the year 543–1148, when *Hasan ben Alî* being assailed by a numerous fleet and army which Roger I. had sent to ravage the coast of Africa, was forced to abandon the city of *Mahdiah*, his seat of government, to their pillage: the effects of which aggression the Zeïrites did not afterwards recover.

temporal chief, by whom they might be governed as a nation, and with the advice of the two reformers it was resolved to confer the title and authority of امير المسلمين *Amír al-Moslemín* or Commander of the Moslems upon a respectable head-man of the tribe of لمتونة *Lamtúnah*, named ابوبكر بن عمر *Abu-bekr ben Omar*. On this occasion it was that they assumed the denomination of المرابطين *Al-Morabetín*, or persons bound together or confederated (by the Spaniards written *Almorabidos* and *Almoravidos*), or, more commonly (in the Arabic singular) مربوط *Marabút*;(2) but amongst the neighbouring people they were already known by that of الملثمون *Al-Molathamún*, or those who cover the lower part of their faces with a cloth or veil.(3)

Not long after this election of a head of the state, what might have been expected took place. *Jauhar* became envious of the rank and influence acquired by *Abu-bekr*, and repenting of the part he had taken in elevating him to the chief command, began to raise cabals against him, and threatened to separate himself from the confederacy. In consequence of this he was brought to trial before a general assembly of the tribes, which condemned him to suffer death, as a disturber of the public peace and an enemy to the union of the faithful. *Abd-allah ben Yasín*, the historians tell us, did not long survive him. Having instigated the tribes to an attack upon the infidel inhabitants of سوس *Sús*, at the foot of Mount Atlas, he was amongst the first who lost their lives on the occasion.

Abu-bekr being now left to act for himself, one of his first measures (in the year 453) was to take possession of the city of سجلماسه on the confines of the desert; in the government of which he left his nephew يوسف بن تاشفين *Yúsuf ben Táshfín*, who afterwards became a conspicuous character;

(2) From ربط *rabt*, ligatio, and not as Reiske's translation of Abu'lfeda implies, from مرابا *mirabát*, custodire: ("Excubantes pro caussa Dei"). T. III. p. 151. The *Marabúts* described by travellers in Africa as fanatics and religious jugglers, are evidently the scattered remnant of this people, who seem to have affected, at all periods, a character of superior sanctity.

(3) From لثام *litham*, velamen oris. The nature of this species of covering will be understood from inspection of the plates in Lyon's Travels in Northern Africa, which give representations of the *Tuarick* or inhabitants of that desert where the Morabetin tribes first settled.

character; but he soon recalled him from thence, to be employed in the subjugation of the people of *Sús*, which he effected.

This founder of the *Morabetîn* dynasty, which lasted about ninety years, died in his encampment on the desert in the year 462–1069. According to Abu'lfeda, whom I have chiefly followed, as well as Nowaïri and Aboulmahasen cited by De Guignes, he was succeeded as Commander of the Moslems by *Yúsuf ben Tâshfín*, but it will be shewn that these writers must be in an error, and that his immediate successor was not a nephew but a son.

PRINCES OF THE *MORABETÎN* OR ALMORAVID DYNASTY OF AFRICA AND SPAIN.

		A.H.	A.D.
1. *Abu-bekr ben Omar*	ابوبكر بن عمر	448	1056
2. *Ibrahîm Abu-Tâshfîn ben Abu-bekr*	ابراهيم ابوتاشفين بن ابوبكر	462	1069
3. *Yúsuf ben Tâshfín ben Ibrahîm*	يوسف بن تاشفين بن ابراهيم	462	1069
4. *Abu'l Hasan Ali ben Yúsuf*	ابو الحسن علي بن يوسف	500	1106
5. *Tâshfín al-Masmudi ben Ali*	تاشفين المصمودي بن علي	535	1140
6. *Ishak ben Ali*	اسحق بن علي	539	1144
with whom the dynasty ended in		541	1146

CCCL.

ابراهيم بن ابي بكر بن عمر *IBRÂHÎM BEN ABI-BEKR BEN OMAR,*

Second prince of the Morabetîn *or* Marabût *dynasty.*

I. AREA. لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله الامير ابراهيم بن ابي بكر — GOLD, An. 462.

Non est deus nisi Deus. Muhammed est legatus Dei. Princeps *Ibráhím ben Abi-bekr.*

MARGIN.

GOLD, An. 462.

MARGIN. ومن يتبع غير الاسلام دينا فلن يقبل
منه وهو في الاخرة من الخاسرين

Quicunque aliam quam Islamismam profitetur religionem, minime ab eo (Deo) acceptabitur, sed die novissimo peribit.

II. AREA. الامام عبدالله امير المومنين

Al-Imâm Abd-allah imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا لدينار بسجلماسه
سنه اثنين و ستين و اربع مايه

In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius in *Sejelmâsah*, anno 462 (1069).

(2 dw. 13 gr.)

This dinar will be found to throw new and useful light upon an important part of African history, as connected with the Moorish conquest of Spain by that race whom its writers term Almoravidos. It has already been observed that Abu'lfeda and other Arabian historians consider *Yûsuf ben Tashfîn* as the successor of *Abu-bekr ben Omar*, first prince or elected chief of the *Morabetîn* dynasty, making no mention of *Ibrâhîm ben Abi-bekr* or *Abu-bekr*, by whom this coin was struck, in 462, the year in which his father died. That it indisputably belongs to this family is proved not only by the date combined with the place of coinage, but also by the exact conformity of its inscription with that which appears on the money of the two following princes; and it will be allowed that the evidence of a distinctly legible coin is not to be invalidated by the information (however accurate in general) collected by historians who lived at a distance of time and place from the scene of events which they record, and who were liable to be misled in the course of their researches. The preference as to authority must indeed be given to the former, even if the latter were consistent with themselves and with each other; but it will be seen that this is not the case in the present instance, and that the identity of such a personage as *Ibrâhîm* is not without historical support.

In the first place we may notice that in the account given by Abu'lfeda there is a degree of obscurity, if not a confusion of persons, where he says,

says (t. III. p. 157), that upon the reduction of *Sejelmâsah* he appointed to the government of it his *relative* (suum affinem) *Yûsûf ben Tâshfîn*, whom he afterwards found it expedient to remove, and to place in his room a nephew (quendam ex fratre nepotem): but it is generally admitted that *Yûsuf* was his nephew, and the supposition is not improbable that the other was his son, who would thus be in possession of the capital city and of the mint at the time of his father's decease. GOLD, An. 462.

In the "Regum Almorabitarum Series" of Al-Khatibi, extracted and translated by Casiri, we find *Abu-bekr* considered, not as the first, but as the second leader of the associated tribes, having succeeded an elder brother named *Yahîa*, and *Yûsuf* as the third in the series. But Höst, in his Account of Marókos and Fes (a work containing much genuine information) gives the names and their order, although not the degrees of relationship, in a manner that nearly corresponds with the reading of the coin, and proves at least that the authorities which differ from it are at variance with each other. *Abu-bekr* he states to have been the first constituted chief, who, preferring the residence in camps to that of towns, resigned the government (of the latter) to his relative (hans slægt) *Abu Tâshfîn*, whose proper name, he adds in a Note, was *Ibrâhîm*; and that he *(Ibrâhîm)* was succeeded by his son, who was styled الامير يوسف ابن ابراهيم بن تاشفين *Amîr Yûsuf ibn Ibrâhîm ben Tâshfîn*.(1)

All these contradictions might, it is evident, be avoided, if not reconciled, by considering *Ibrâhîm*, as he states himself in the legend, to have been the son of *Abu-bekr*, and to have lost no time in asserting his hereditary claim, by the coinage of money in his own name; but to have been afterwards (perhaps within the year) set aside by the voice of the confederation, which called to the chief command his cousin *Yûsuf*: a preference that was sanctioned by the eminent military talents of the latter.

Concerning the khalif who is here briefly styled *Al-Imâm Abd-allah*, many discordant conjectures have been raised. It is obvious that, in

(1) Chénier also (Recherches Histor. t. III. p. 264) speaks of *Abu Tashfîn* as the nephew and successor of *Abu-bekr*, and *Yûsuf* as the son of the former; but in his dates there is no correspondence with Abu'lfeda or the Arabian writers consulted by De Guignes.

GOLD, An. 462.

this instance, the name might be supposed to belong to the Abbassite, *Al-Kâïm beamrillah Abu Jâfar Abd-allah*, whose khalifat began in 422 and ended in 467; but the circumstance of its being repeated, not only on the coinage of *Yûsuf*, but also of his successor, makes it necessary to refer it to a different, and, in point of existence at the time, an imaginary personage, who can be no other than *Abd-allah ben Yasîn*, the first religious instructor of the tribes, and who had a principal share in establishing the dynasty. If a further conjecture may be allowed, I should venture this: that the name of *Abd-allah*, with the title peculiar to the heads of the faith, of *Amîr al-Mumenîn*, was, on the first of these coins, intended to apply to the khalif of *Baghdâd*, but was continued after his death and that of his successor (also named *Abd-allah*) from pious regard to the memory of their original pastor. That the *Morabetîn* dynasty was attached to the Abbassites and enemies of their neighbours the Fatimites, appears from their history, and especially from the fact of *Yûsuf ben Tâshfîn* having received the investiture from *Mostadher-billah*, the grandson of *Al-Kâïm*.

The sentence which occupies the Margin of I. and displays the intolerant principles acted upon by zealous Mahometans, is from the *Korân*, *surah* IV. v. 84.(2)

In the Collect. nov. Num. Cuf. of Adler, p. 133, a circumstantial description is given of a dinar coined by *Abu-bekr* himself, with a legend analogous to this of *Ibrâhîm*, but expressing a date that, if we were convinced of its correctness, would give occasion to much historic difficulty. The learned Danish orientalist reads the year 472, and as he not only recites the numeral words at length in his text, but exhibits them in the engraving of the coin, it becomes a matter of delicacy to suggest doubts of its correctness. Had I, indeed, no other grounds of objection than the reading of the dinar before me, purporting to have been coined by a prince who styles himself the son of the former, and bearing a date ten years earlier, I might hesitate to place my own accuracy in competition

(2) In Marraccis' translation the words are: "Et qui sectatus fuerit præter Eslam religionem *aliam*: profectò non acceptabitur ab eo: et ipse in novissimo sæculo erit ex pereuntibus." By O. G. Tychsen (Introd. p. 118) it is mistated as *surah* III. 78.

tition with his; but it will appear that the authority of the writers of African and Spanish history is at variance with his date, as they generally concur in placing the death of *Abu-bekr* in the year 462. GOLD, An. 462.

A revision of the coin (which his expression of "exemplum nostrum" leads us to consider as belonging to his own cabinet) can alone serve to clear up the doubt; and it may be remarked that whatever nicety of discrimination the near resemblance to each other of some characters may require, the ع of سبعين 70 should at once distinguish it from ستين 60. Be the circumstances of the date as they may, a coin of *Abu-bekr*, as the founder of a dynasty, is a numismatic curiosity, and merits particular attention.

The situation of *Sejelmâsah*, at the eastern extremity of the kingdom of Morocco, bordering on the great desert of Sahara, may be found in the maps of D'Anville, Rennell, and Höst. It has already been noticed as the city where the founder of the dynasty of Fatimites, the predecessors of the Morabetîns, was first acknowledged to be the *Mahdi* or spiritual guide of the Musulmans. The memory of one great religious innovation on the spot, had probably the effect of suggesting another, at a subsequent period.

CCCLI.

يوسف بن تاشفين *YÛSUF BEN TÂSHFÎN,*

Third prince of the Morabetîn *dynasty.*

I. AREA. Third symbol. الامير يوسف بن تاشفين Princeps *Yûsuf ben Tâshfîn.* GOLD, An. 491.

MARGIN. As in preceding dinar.

II. AREA. الامام عبدالله امير المومنين
Al-Imâm Abd-allah, imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمد . . .
مراكش سنه احدي و تسعين و ار . . .
In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius in ur . . *Marâkash,* anno 491 (1097). (2 dw. 9 gr.)

GOLD, An. 491.

The disagreement amongst writers of African history respecting the periods at which these princes succeeded to the government has already been noticed. According to Abu'lfeda, *Yûsuf* was called to their command by the voice of the associated tribes in 462, and this date is assumed by De Guignes; but others make it some years later. About 478 the fame of his power in the western parts of Africa induced *Al-Mòtamed ala'llah*, of the race of *Abâd*, who then governed Seville, in conjunction with other Moorish chiefs, to invite him to their assistance against Alfonso VI. of Leon and Castille, from whose attack they were in imminent danger. In 479–1086 a great battle was fought at *Zalaca* near Badajoz, in which Alfonso's army was entirely defeated; but the success of the Mauritanian prince was fatal to his new friends, whose territories he annexed to his other conquests. After these successes he returned to Africa, from whence, in 484, he sent a force that completed the reduction of the remaining southern provinces of Spain: from which period may be dated the commencement of the Almoravid (*Al-Morabetîn*) dynasty in that country. His death is placed by Abu'lfeda in 500–1106 (nine years after the date of this coin) in the new city of *Marâkash* or Morocco, founded by him in 465, according to some, or 470, according to others; which he had made the capital of his Mauritanian dominions.(1)

It is remarkable that the title of امير المسلمين *Amîr al-Muslemîn*, which was said to have been conferred upon the first prince of this dynasty, does not appear upon the coinage either of *Yûsuf* or of his immediate predecessor. Yet from the assertion of a writer quoted by Makrizi, we might expect to have found it upon this dinar of so late a period of his reign as 491. "Après que *Yousouf ben Taschfin* (says the Chronicle of Abou-Mohammed ben Abdalhalim Algarnati) eut soumis l'Espagne, et gagné

(1) "Primus hujusce dynastiæ fundamenta jecit Josephus ben Taschphinus, princeps bellica virtute, justitiâ et amore in litteras præstantissimus. Is inclarescere cœpit anno Egiræ 465: anno vero 479, Alphonso pugnâ superato, devictisque aliis Hispaniæ regibus, Africæ et Hispaniæ insignia induit. Obiit tandem feriâ 2. die 3. Moharami, anno Egiræ 500. in urbe Marocho ab ipso, ut refert Ebn Khalkanus, anno 470. condita. Ex Bibliotheca Ebn Alkhatibi." Bibl. Arab. Hisp. t. II. p. 219. Chénier (Hist. de Maroc, p. 48) asserts that the building of this city was commenced, in 1052 (444) by the father and predecessor of *Yûsuf*.

gagné la bataille de Zalaka, il se trouva près de lui treize rois qui l'élurent et le proclamèrent Emir des Musulmans. C'est le premier des rois du Magreb qui ait porté ce titre." Traité des Monn. Musulm. traduit de l'Arabe de Makrizi par S. de Sacy, p. 73. It is equally wanting upon his dinar of the year 474, described by Adler (Mus. Cuf. Borg. p. 17), but has a place on the coins of his son and successor, *Ali ben Yúsuf*.(2) GOLD, An. 491.

In addition to what has already been noticed respecting the name of *Abd-allah*, which, on earlier money of this dynasty, might be supposed to refer to one or other of two successive khalifs of *Baghdâd*, who reigned from 422 to 487, and bore that name, we may observe that the latter of them died four years before the date of this coin.

In the words that should express the century some characters are wanting; an imperfection that often occurs in consequence of the engraver's miscalculating the space to be occupied by the circular inscription. On the side II., where the characters are more fairly designed than on I., we observe the diacritical points distinctly placed under the ي, although none are applied to other letters.

CCCLII.

ابو الحسن علي بن يوسف *ABU'L HASAN ALI BEN YUSUF,*

Fourth prince.

I. AREA. Third symbol. امير المسلمين علي ابن يوسف Imperator Muslemorum *Ali ibn Yúsuf*. GOLD, An. 501.

MARGIN. As in dinar of 462.

II. AREA.

(2) By Abu'lfeda it is expressly said to have been used by the former: "Anno D (500) obiit Josef, filius Teschfini, Emir el-Muslemin, Mauritaniæ et Hispaniæ rex, vir laudabilis vitæ ....., Filius ejus, Ali, succedebat ipsi, et eodem titulo quo pater, scilicet Emir el-Muslemin, utebatur." Annales, t. III. p. 357. These African princes having obtained their investiture from the Khalif of *Baghdâd*, to whose system of faith they adhered, could not assume the identical title of the head of their religion, but approached to it as nearly as possible.

GOLD, An. 501.

II. AREA. الامام عبدالله امير المومنين كر

Al-Imâm Abd-allah imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار باغمات سنه احدي وخمس مايه

In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius in *Aghmât*, anno 501 (1107.) (2 dw. $12\frac{3}{4}$ gr.)

On this dinar of *Alî* the son of *Yûsuf* we observe the first numismatic use of the title of *Amîr al-Muslemîn*, said by some historians to have been conferred on *Abu-bekr*, and by others, to have been assumed by *Yûsuf* upon the occasion of his victory in Spain. *Aghmât*, the city where it was coined, stands not far from Morocco, on the western slope of Mount Atlas, and immediately before the building of the latter was the principal residence of the chiefs of this race. In a prison there the king of Seville, whose virtues and misfortunes are the theme of *Meghrabîn* poets, ended his days, in the year 488.

The diacritical points, on this handsome coin, are applied to all the characters which require them in the modern alphabet, and it may be observed that, as in the alphabet now used in Mauritania, the point belonging to ف in يوسف is placed *under* the body of the letter. The mint-mark at the bottom of Area II. seems to contain the letters كر *kr*. In this and all the following dinars an ا *alif* is wanting in the words هذا الدينار.

CCCLIII.

ابو الحسن علي بن يوسف *ABU'L HASAN ALI BEN YÛSUF.*

GOLD, An. 508.

I. AREA and MARGIN. As in preceding dinar.

II. AREA. الامام عبدالله امير المومنين ح

Al-Imâm Abd-allah imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمدينه المريه سنه ثمان وخمس مايه

GOLD, An. 508.

In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius in urbe *Almeríah*, anno 508 (1114). (2 dw. 12¾ gr.)

This dinar also has the title of *Amír al-Muslemín*, and differs in nothing from the preceding but the date, the place of coinage, which is Almeria, a maritime city of the kingdom of Granada in Spain, conquered by the arms of his father, and a peculiar mint-mark resembling the letter ح.

CCCLIV.

ابو الحسن عَلي بن يوسف *ABU'L HASAN ALI BEN YÚSUF.*

I. AREA and MARGIN. As in dinar of 501.

GOLD, An. 511.

II. AREA. As in dinar of 501. كر

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بتلمسان عام احد عشر وخمس مايه

In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius in *Telemsán*, anno 511 (1117). (2 dw. 13¾ gr.)

The extremely near resemblance of the dinars coined by this prince in Africa and in Spain, is remarkable. This is from the mint of تلمسان *Telemsán*, a city of the kingdom of Fez (فاس *Fás*), lying north-east of the capital of that name. The mint-mark resembles the كر of 501, and differs from that of 508. Its chief peculiarity is the introduction of the Arabic word عام *àâm* in the place of سنه *seneh* annus, which had been invariably used in expressing the dates. On the modern coinage of the Morocco empire the same term is commonly used. It may also be observed, that, as the latter words of circular inscriptions are often contracted or omitted in consequence of an incorrect estimation of the space,

GOLD, An. 511. space, so here, a small vacancy between the last and the first word of the sentence is filled up with an unmeaning character. The word دينار is incorrectly written.

CCCLV.

ابو الحسن علي بن يوسف *ABU'L HASAN ALI BEN YÛSUF.*

GOLD, An. 516.

I. AREA. علي لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله امير المسلمين بن يوسف

Ali. Third symbol. Princeps Muslemorum. *Ben Yûsuf.*

MARGIN. As in dinar of 462.

II. AREA. الامام عبدالله امير المومنين اكي

Al-Imâm Abd-allah imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار باغرناطه سنه ست عشره و خمس مايه

In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius in *Aghranâtah* (Granada) anno 516 (1122). (2 dw. 13 gr.)

We here find a small variation in the arrangement of the inscription, the prince's distinctive name of *Ali*, in a peculiar form of the characters, being placed at the top of the circular area and separated from his title and patronymic, by the intervention of the Mahometan symbol. The mint-mark, at the bottom of Area II., seems to contain the letters اكي or اكر. The place of coinage is the celebrated city of Granada, in Spain.

CCCLVI.

CCCLVI.

ابو الحسن علي بن يوسف *ABU'L HASAN ALI BEN YÛSUF.*

I. Area. لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله امير المسلمين
علي بن يوسف ولي عهده الامير شين

Non est deus nisi Deus. Muhammed est legatus Dei. Princeps Muslemorum *Ali ben Yûsuf*. Hæres constitutus princeps (*Tâshfín*).

Margin. As in dinar of 462.

II. Area. الامام عبدالله امير المومنين مر
Al-Imâm Abd-allah imperator Fidelium.

Margin. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالمريه
سنه ثلاث و عشرين وخمس مايه

In nomine Dei cuditur hic denarius in *Almeriah*, anno 523 (1129). (2 dw. 11 gr.)

The peculiarity of this, the latest coin in the Collection, of the *Morabetín* dynasty, is remarkable. In addition to the name of the reigning prince, its inscription contains the phrase by which an heir apparent is usually designated, with a name that we cannot doubt to be intended for that of his son, which was تاشفين *Tâshfín;* but from some cause (not to be accounted for from the want of space), only the characters شين (with a stroke above, as if to denote elision) appear to follow the title of امير *amîr* or prince. At this period he was his father's lieutenant in Spain, and successfully engaged in repelling the attacks of Alfonso; from whence he was recalled in 528, in order to command an army against the chief of a new sect of religious enthusiasts, termed الموحدين *Al-Mowahhedín* or Unitarians. By these the dynasty of the *Morabetín* was ultimately destroyed about the year 541 or 542, when اشحق *Ishhak* or Isaac, the son of *Tâshfín*, was put to death.

The name of *Abd-allah*, with the title of *Amîr al-Mumenín* or Commander of the Faithful, appears on this dinar of 523, as it has done upon every coin of the dynasty, from the year 462. The characters مر at the bottom of Area II. we might, from general analogy, conclude to

GOLD, An. 523.

be a mint-mark, were it not that it differs from the mark of another coin (of 508) struck in the same city of Almerîa. They may perhaps have reference to the name of the artist. It is to be observed that the numeral word for 3, which on all preceding money, of every dynasty, has been ثلث, is here written ثلاث; and the latter mode is, I believe, the more customary in modern dates.

A dinar of the year 535, described by Adler (Collect. nov. n°. LXXXVII. p. 136) is in most respects similar to this, but differs from it in some particulars which it is proper to notice. In his specimen the name of تاشفين *Tâshfîn*, as that of the heir apparent, is not contracted, as in mine, but given at full length in his engraving. Prefixed to the religious sentence in the marginal inscription of I. he reads the words صدق الله verax est Deus, which certainly are not found on mine, although there are some supernumerary characters between the word الخاسرين, with which the sentence concluded in all the preceding coins, and those of ومن, with which it commenced. It may seem, indeed, that the object of the artist was to fill up an unoccupied space (as remarked in Margin of II. in dinar of 511) and that the characters are not significant.

A variation, however, of more importance to the legend is the appearance of the word العباس *Al-Abbâs*, following that of الامام *Al-Imâm*, and preceding the name of عبدالله *Abd-allah*, which he translates "*Imam*, (Chalifa) *Abbasidicus Abdalla* (Dei cultor)." In the specimen of 523 this remarkable word (العباس) is not found, and its introduction on a coin twelve years later is extraordinary, as no Abbassite khalif of Baghdad had borne the name of *Abd-allah* subsequently to the year 487. I am aware that Adler does not, in the present instance, consider the word *Abd-allah* as the proper name of a person; but this supposition would, if admitted, render that part of the legend still more anomalous.(1)

In Plate XXXIII. of Höst's Account of Marókos and Fes we have the representation of two dinars (n°. 3. 4.) coined by princes of this race; one of them by *Yûsuf*, of the year 494, and the other by *Tâshfîn ben Ali*, the date of which is illegible. Neither of them has the words صدق الله in the marginal inscription, or العباس in that of the Area.

(1) "Jam simulationem deponit Mauritanus, et aperte Chalifam Abbasidam in numo suo celebrat, cui tamen, more majorum, titulum cultoris Dei tribuit, vero ejus nomine omisso." P. 136.

SHERÍFS OF MOROCCO AND FEZ.

AFTER the extinction of the *Mowahhed* dynasty, the western parts of Mauritania, particularly Morocco and Fez, were governed by races which bore the names of المريني *Al-Merîni*, بني زيان *Beni Zîân*, and الوطاس *Al-Watâs*, who in their turn gave place to one that assumed the title of الشريف *Al-Sherîf* or noble, as being descended from the family of the Prophet. The first of these *Sherîfs* who raised himself to distinction, by the display of religious zeal, and projected the establishment of royalty in his own person or amongst his descendants, is best known by the name of محمد الحسن *Muhammed al-Hasan* or الحسين *al-Husein*. His sons *Ahmed* and *Muhammed*, who received their education at Mecca, extended by their talents the possessions of the house, but becoming jealous of each other, the latter, after a long struggle, acquired the ascendency, and having, in the year 958–1550, defeated also, and put to death, the King of Fez, the last of the dynasty of *Al-Watâs*, became possessor of that kingdom, as he already was of Morocco and Tafilet. In 1556 he fell by the hands of an assassin: previously to which date there is much uncertainty as to the commencement or periods of the reigns, if the progressive assumption of power can be so termed. In the following list I have been guided chiefly by the historical details of Höst, whose knowledge of the Arabic language and opportunities of acquiring information, give weight to his authority. It has been usual to prefix the title of مولي, pronounced *Mula* or *Maula* (not *Muley*), to the names of these truly barbarian princes, to whom the courtesy of latter days amongst Europeans, has given that of emperor;[1] but it is not thought necessary to repeat the word, the signification of which is lord or prince.

(1) " Wee expect that Mr. H. Howard, of Norfolk, will goe embassador to *Taffaletta*, who takes upon him the titles of emperor of Africa, king of Morocco, and one of the race of Mahomett

SHERÎFS OF MOROCCO AND FEZ.

			A.H.	A.D.
1.	*Muhammed al-Hasan ben Al-Sherîf*	محمد الحسن بن الشريف		
2.	*Ahmed ben Muhammed*	احمد بن محمد	936	1529
3.	*Muhammed ben Muhammed*	محمد بن محمد	957	1550
4.	*Abd-allah ben Muhammed*	عبدالله بن محمد	964	1556
5.	*Muhammed ben Abd-allah*	محمد بن عبدالله	982	1574
	dethroned by his uncle,			
6.	*Abd-al-malek*	عبد الملك		
7.	*Ahmed Sherîf* (brother of *Abd-al-malek*)	احمد شريف		
8.	*Abú Fars*	ابو فارس	1012	1603
	(Upon the death of *Ahmed*, in 1603, a contention arose amongst his three sons, *Muhammed Sheikh*, *Abú Fars*, and *Zidán*, which continued for some years, when the last prevailed over his competitors).(2)			
9.	*Zîdân ben Ahmed*	زيدان بن احمد	1017	1608
10.	*Abd-al-malek ben Zîdân*	عبد الملك بن زيدان	1040	1630
11.	*Al-Walîd ben Zîdân*	الوليد بن زيدان	1044	1634
				12. *Ahmed*

mett and wee salute him by that character." Harleian MS. 7001. The ignorance shewn here (Taffaletta being mistaken for the name of the sovereign) deprives the writer's assertion of weight as to the title of emperor being assumed by the king of Morocco. What is the equivalent Arabic term?—Perhaps that of *Amîr al-mûmenîn* or Commander (imperator) of the Faithful.

(2) In the list of these *Sherîfs* given by O. G. Tychsen (Introd. p. 165), after the reign of *Muhammed ben Abd-allah*, who came to the throne in 1574 and was soon removed from it by his uncle, *Abd-al malek*, we find the names of *Abu'l Abbas Al-Mansur* and *Abu'l Hasan*, as having successively assumed the government in 1603, previously to *Abu Fars*, whose short reign is made to commence in 1605. These may probably be the titular names of two of the sons of *Ahmed*, who were struggling with *Fars* and *Zîdân* for the succession, but were better known to historians by more familiar appellations. The reign, however, of *Ahmed* (the *Achmet* of Chénier, according to the Turkish pronunciation) their father, as well as of *Abd-al-malek*, their uncle, are omitted in that list. The year in which *Ahmed's* reign commenced has not occurred, but his operations in 1594 are spoken of.

		A.H.	A.D.
12. *Ahmed Sheikh ben Sidán* last of the original *Sherîf* race.	احمد شيخ بن زيدان	1056	1646
Krîm al-Hakk (usurper)	كريم الحايك	1059	1649
13. *Sherîf* (*Ali*, of *Yambo*, who reigned in *Tafilet*)	شريف (علي)	1063	1652
14. *Muhammed ben Sherîf*	محمد بن شريف	1065	1654
15. *Rashîd ben Sherîf*	رشيد بن شريف	1072	1661 (3)
16. *Ismâîl ben Sherîf*	اسمعيل بن شريف	1083	1672
17. *Ahmed Dahabi ben Ismâîl* deposed in the following year.	احمد الدهبي بن اسمعيل	1140	1727
18. *Abd-al-malek ben Ismâîl*	عبد الملك بن اسمعيل	1141	1728
17. *Ahmed Dahabi* restored		1141	1728
19. *Abd-allah ben Ismâîl* deposed in 1734.	عبدالله بن اسمعيل	1142	1729 (4)
20. *Ali ben Ismâîl* deposed in 1736.	علي بن اسمعيل	1147	1734
19. *Abd-allah* restored and again deposed		1149	1736
21. *Muhammed uld* (*walad*) *Arîbah* deposed in 1738.	محمد ولد عريبه		
19. *Abd-allah* again restored and again deposed			1740
22. *Mostadhi* (at the same time with *Abd-allah*)	مستضي	1153	1740
23. *Muhammed* (*Sidi* or *Seyid*) *ben Abd-allah*	محمد (سيّد) بن عبدالله	1171	1757
24. *Muhammed Yezîd ben Muhammed* died in 1792.	محمد يزيد بن محمد	1205	1790

(3) In 1664 according to Tychsen.

(4) In 1731 according to Tychsen.

CCCLVII.

زيدان بن احمد ZÎDÂN BEN AHMED,

Ninth prince of the Sherîf *race.*

GOLD, An. 1017-1040

I. AREA. بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم عبدالله
الامام الناصر لدين الله زيدان امير المومنين

In nomine Dei misericordissimi *Abd-allah Imâm Al-Nâser ledîn-illah Zîdân* imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN. ضرب بحصن (فاس) . . . . . .

Cuditur in castello (Fez) . . . .

II. AREA. ابن الامام احمد ابن الامام محمد الشيخ (ابن)
الامام ا . . . الشريف الحسن

Ben Imâm Ahmed ben Imâm Muhammed al-Sheikh (ben) Imâm . . . . al-Sherîf al-Hasan.

MARGIN. (انما يريد الله) ليذهب عنكم الرجس
اهل البيت

Nam vult Deus impuritatem removere a vobis (qui estis) familiæ domûs i.e. Prophetæ. (2 dw. 16½ gr.)

From the deteriorated condition of this gold coin, the inscriptions are with difficulty and in some parts imperfectly read. It appears from them that *Zîdân ben Ahmed*, who after a long struggle with his brothers ultimately obtained possession of the throne of Morocco and Fez, assumed the title of *Al-Nâser ledîn-illah*, together with that of *Imâm* or khalif and Commander of the Faithful. Respecting the name of *Abd-allah*, which is found upon all the coins of this race, as well as upon those of the *Morabetîns*, the same difficulty of explanation still presents itself. Being, however, the proper name not only of the Prophet himself, but also of two religious innovators who, in imitation of his example, became, as we have seen, the founders of two dynasties in this part of the world (the Fatimite and *Morabetîn*), it may, from this combination, have

have been regarded in a sacred light, and its generally applicable signification of "servus Dei" may have encouraged its adoption as a substitute for the name of the Eastern or of the Western khalif, which in earlier times had a place on all mussulman coins. GOLD, An. 1017-1040

The names in the Area of II. are evidently in connexion with that on the first side, and express the patronymics of *Zidân*, who, as appears by the list, was the son of *Ahmed*, the brother of *Abd-allah*, and consequently the son of *Muhammed*, who may probably have been distinguished by the title of *Al-Sheikh*. The obliterated name preceding the word *Al-Sherîf* ought therefore to be *Muhammed* also, the founder of the dynasty. The faint traces, indeed, do not justify that reading; but he may have been known by a different title or surname; and that of *Hasan* (or *Husein*) peculiarly belonged to him.

The marginal inscription of I. is for the most part defaced, and even the name of فاس *Fâs* or Fez is very indistinct. The date, which should follow, is wholly wanting. The Margin of II. contains a sentence from the *korân* (*surah* xxx III. 33), of which about two thirds are legible.

This coin, although precisely the weight of the original dinar, does not appear to be so termed in the kingdom of Morocco. By Höst it is named متبوع *matbuà*, which signifies *dux* and may possibly be a translation of the *ducato* of Venice. It is also, he says, called *metkal dahabi* or the *metkal* of gold.

CCCLVIII.

زيدان بن احمد *ZÎDÂN BEN AHMED.*

I. AREA. زيدان ابن الامامين احمد المنصور GOLD, An.
Zidân ibn al-imâmîn. Ahmed al-Mansûr.

MARGIN. Illegible.

II. AREA. عبدالله الامام (امير) المومنين
Abd-allah al-Imâm imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN. Illegible. (1 dw. $9\frac{3}{4}$ gr.)

The

GOLD, An. The imperfect state of the inscriptions on this and the following coin, which seem to have been intentionally obliterated in some parts, renders them of little historical utility. *Ahmed* (or *Hamed* as he is often named) the father of *Zîdân*, the reigning prince, has here the epithet of *Al-Mansûr* or the victorious. The reason for putting the title of *Imâm* in the plural form does not appear; for although it might be said, generally, that the prince was descended from (a race of) *Imâms*, this cannot be reconciled with the specific filiation or patronymic which immediately follows.

From the comparison of weight we may denominate this a half ducat or dinar.

CCCLIX.

زيدان بن احمد *ZÎDÂN BEN AHMED.*

GOLD, An.

I. AREA. عبدالله الامام (امير) المومنين
Abd-allah al-Imâm imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN. ضرب . . . .

II. AREA. زيدان بن احمد امري المومنين
Zîdân ben Ahmed (imperator) Fidelium.

MARGIN. عام ثمانين و . . . . . و الف
Anno . . . . . (1 dw. $5\frac{3}{4}$ gr.)

In this gold coin of the same description and nearly with the same legend as the preceding, the epithet *Al-Mansûr* is omitted. In the date, the decimal number seems to be ثمانين 80, but as this is not reconcileable with the period of *Zîdân's* reign (1017 to 1040), a misapprehension must be suspected, and the word may be intended for ثمان 8, in the place of units. The term for imperator, princeps, امير *amîr* is here written امري *amrî* or اميري *amîrî*; the object of which change does not appear

appear. It is often so written in the plural form, but the context here requires the singular number. GOLD, An. 1017-1040

CCCLX.

ابو فارس *ABÛ FARS,*

Eighth prince.

I. AREA. ابو فارس عبد الغريب امير المومنين ؟ يوسف GOLD, An. 1012-1017

Abú Fars servus mirabilis (Dei), imperator Fidelium. *Yúsuf?*

MARGIN. .... بنصر الله الحا .. في سبيل الله

..... auxilio Dei, pro semita Dei.

II. AREA. الشركن (الشكر) لله المرفوع خليفه الله

(Gratiæ) Deo. Exaltatus vicarius Dei?

MARGIN. الرحمن الرحيم و ال .... واحد لا اله الا هو

Misericordissimus .... unus, nec deus est nisi ipse Deus (*Huwa*).

(1 dw. 12 gr.)

Abu Fars or *Bu Fars*, as the name is written by Höst and others, maintained a struggle for the thrones of Morocco and Fez from the year 1012–1603, when his father *Ahmed* died, until 1017–1608, when the fortunes of *Zídán* prevailed over those of his brothers. Much of the legend of this his gold coin is imperfect and obscure, nor is there an appearance of any date.

Whether the phrase of عبد الغريب *Abd-al-Gherîb* "servus mirabilis s. admirandi" be intended for an additional name or only as a reverential expression, is uncertain, but it should be observed that in the description of a coin of this prince by Adler (Collect. nov. n. XCII. p. 141.) he is surnamed الواثق بالله *Al-Wathek-billah.* The word with which the inscription of Area II. commences, seems to be written الشركن, and so it is read

GOLD, An. 1012-1017

read by Höst (p. 264, l. 2) in describing another coin of the same period, but it has no meaning, and the sense of the passage requires that it should be read الشكر or الشكران 'gratitudo.' The word المرفوع also is doubtful; the characters having as much the appearance of المرقوي, which, however, form a word unknown to the language. At the bottom of Area I. some minute characters, resembling يوسف or يوسم, are perceptible.

CCCLXI.

ابو فارس *ABÚ FARS.*

GOLD, An. 1012-1017

I. AREA. ابو فارس عبد الغريب امير المومنين

Abú Fars servus mirabilis (Dei) imperator Fidelium.

MARGIN. Illegible.

II. AREA. الشكر لله الحول و القوة بالله

Gratiæ Deo. Potentia et virtus per Deum.

MARGIN. Illegible. (1 dw. 12 gr.)

From the insufficiency of surface, the marginal inscriptions of this coin, of the same prince, are almost entirely wanting. In the engraving of the die the letter ر *r* seems to have been omitted, from inadvertence, in the name of فارس *Fars*, and supplied in the line below; an error that may have been occasioned by its near similarity to the more familiar one of فاس *Fas* (Fez). In Area II. the word شكر is more distinct than in the preceding specimen; but the confined space did not admit the insertion of the ا, in the articles ال belonging to this, and to the word beneath it.

CCCLXII.—CCCLXIV.

اسمعيل بن شريف *ISMÀÎL BEN SHERÎF,*

Sixteenth prince, and Fourth of second Sherîf *race.*

I. Area. لا اله الا الله الامر كله لله — Gold, An. 1093.

Non est deus nisi Deus. Imperium omne est a Deo.

Margin. ضرب بحصن فاس حاطها الله
عام ثلاث و تسعين و الف

Cuditur in arce *Fas* (Fez) quam Deus custodiat, anno 1093 (1681-2).

II. Area. الله حق ناصر الحق المبين

Deus est verus, defensor veritatis manifestæ.

Margin. بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و ما توفيقي الا
بالله عليه توكلت و اليه انيب

In nomine Dei misericordissimi. "Non est auxilium meum nisi in Deo; super eum innixus sum, et ad eum me converto."

(2 dw. 5 gr. 2 dw. 4 gr. 2 dw. 3½ gr. 2 dw. 4 gr.)

In the legend of this gold coin, which is perfect, the name of the sovereign does not appear, nor do we find the ambiguous name of *Abd-allah,* so often noticed on the coinage of preceding races. The religious sentences also, contained in the several inscriptions, differ entirely from those hitherto described. Bearing, however, the distinct date of 1093, it must have been struck by *Ismàîl ben Sherîf,* whose long reign began in 1083–1672, and terminated in 1140–1727.

The sentence in the Margin of II. is from the *korân, surah* XI. 88. The translation is from Marracci, whose celebrated edition I usually refer to. By Sale (p.184) it is rendered: "My support is from God alone; on him do I trust, and unto him do I turn me."

Besides duplicates of this coin, there are two others of the same description, on one of which the words for one thousand one hundred are legible, but not the decimal nor units. In the other, the date is 1140, being the last year of *Ismàîl's* reign.

CCCLXV.—CCCLXX.

محمد (سيّد) بن عبدالله MUHAMMED BEN ABD-ALLAH,

Twenty-third prince.

SILVER, An. 1171-1205

(*a*) I. AREA. ضرب بمراكش عام ١١٨٤ Cuditur in *Marákash* (Morocco) anno 1184 (1770).

II. AREA. Repetition of I.

(1 dw. 19 gr.)

(*b*) I. AREA. Unus (est) unus. احد احد

II. AREA. Anno 1187 (1773). 1187 عام

(1 dw. 21 gr.)

(*c*) I. AREA. Unus (est) unus. احد احد

II. AREA. Anno 1187 (1773). 1187 عام

(1 dw. 19½ gr.)

(*d*) I. AREA. Unus (est) unus 1189 (1775). 1189 احد احد

II. AREA. Cuditur in *Rabát al Fatha*. ضرب برباط الفتح

(18 dw. 8 gr.)

(*e*) I. AREA. Unus (est) unus (1777). 1191 احد احد

II. AREA. Cuditur in *Rabát al Fatha*. ضرب برباط الفتح

(18 dw. 4 gr.)

(*f*) I. AREA. Unus (est) unus. احد احد

II. AREA. *Marákash* (Morocco, 1780). 1194 مراكش

(1 dw. 20½ gr.)

(*a*) This small silver coin (about equal in weight to the six-pence of our money) may probably have been intended for the eighth part of the

وقيه

وقية *ukiah* or nominal ounce, although actually no more than the tenth part. From its date of 1184 (1770) it must have been struck in the reign of *Muhammed ben Abd-allah*, commonly named *Sidi Muhammed*. The numeral figures are the proper Arabic; in which respect it differs from all the coins that follow, where they are purely European; but the form of that which stands for the 4. is peculiar, and it has been necessary to represent it by the common type of the Arabic fount. The circumstance of both faces having the same inscription, although with some variation in the dies, may probably have been accidental.

(*b*) Upon this coin, of the same denomination, we find the first example of the unitarian symbol احد احد Unus unus, the One is one. (*c*) Other specimens, of the same year, differ from it in having the ا *alifs* affectedly drawn through the letters ح د.[1] The numeral figures are here European, and we may thence conclude that the business of the mint was at this period entrusted to a Spanish renegado, rather than to the Jews, as usually supposed.

(*d*) This large silver coin, in the form of a rude square, or, with respect to the lines of the inscription, a lozenge, is the وقية *ukiah* or nominal ounce. Its legend is the same as that of the preceding pieces (which have been arranged according to their dates, without reference to their value), differing from them only in the name of the place of coinage, being *Rabát al Fath* or *Fat-ha*, a strong town on the sea coast, near the mouth of a river that separates it from *Salé* or *Sala*, a port of more notoriety. [2]

This

(1) See a Dissertation by the late General Vallancey upon one of these very ordinary Morocco coins found in Ireland, inserted in the Transactions of the R. I. Academy, Vol. II. "This (the learned Celtic antiquary says) is one of those Arabian telesmanic medals called by the Arabs *Ain*, from the first letter of the inscription always beginning with that character. The mystical word is generally composed of three letters, viz. *Ain*, *Lam*, *Ya*, forming the word *Ali*, which is very conspicuous on the front of this medal." The word, however, is not علي *Ali* but عام *Aâm* 'annus.' "I have subjoined (he adds) a drawing of the medal of the size of the original. On the front is the word *Ali* encircled with the rays of the sun; over the letter *Ya* is a star. On the reverse are two mystical characters crowned with stars. I cannot explain them." "In the Book of Ballymote, among the Oghams I find a perfect Persian talisman of the seven planets. If the ancient Irish or Hyberno-Scythians had these in common with the Orientalists, why might they not have been induced to strike a medal also?"

(2) "Salé et Rabat (says Chénier) devenues feudataires de l'Empire sous Muley Ismaël, formoient alors une espèce de république qui avoit son gouvernement municipal." Hist. de Maroc, t. III. p. 450.

SILVER, An. 1171-1205

(*e*) This ounce piece also was struck at *Rabát*. It differs from the former in being circular, with considerable thickness in proportion to its diameter, and in being *milled* on the edge. It is a well-executed and respectable coin.

(*f*) The difference of date alone intitles this small rude coin to a place in the series. There is another from the Morocco mint of so late a date as 1211 (1796).

CCCLXXI. CCCLXXII.

محمد (سيّد) بن عبدالله *MUHAMMED BEN ABD-ALLAH.*

SILVER, large, An. 1195.

I. AREA. والذين يكنزون الذهب و الفضة ولا ينفقونها في سبيل الله

At qui thesaurizant aurum et argentum et non erogant illud pro semita Dei (annuncia illis poenam discruciantem) .....

II. AREA. فذوقوا ماكنتم تكنزون ضرب بتطوان عام 1195

Gustate ergo quod thesaurizastis. Cuditur in *Tetuán* anno 1195 (1781).

(18 dw. $1\frac{1}{2}$ gr. 17 dw. $10\frac{1}{2}$ gr.)

Ample as the inscription is on this well-executed *ukíah* or ounce-piece, it conveys no other information than that of the place of coinage and the date. The situation of *Tetuán*, in the northern part of the dominions of Morocco, and within the Mediterranean, is well known.

The sentence which forms the legend, and is continued from one face of the coin to the other, will be found in *surah* IX. 35 of the *korán*; but it is here so mutilated by elisions as to present no connected meaning. It is, however, a political denunciation of the practice of hoarding gold and silver, which might be usefully employed in carrying on the wars of religion. These metals, the prophet tells his followers, will hereafter be molten in the fire of hell. "Taste then (he concludes with an apostrophe)

trophe) what you have been treasuring up." G. O. Tychsen in describing a coin of the same date and evidently similar in other respects, uses, in the place of "gustate," the words "Dic: cavete." Introd. p. 173. But the verb is ذوق gustare, and its formative in Marracci's text is justified by that of a good manuscript koran with which I have collated it. A second specimen differs from this in diameter and comparative thickness. The peculiarities of the Mauritanian Arabic characters, especially the ف and ق (the former having the point beneath the body of the letter, and the latter, one point only at top) are here discernible. SILVER, large, An. 1195.

There are also in the Collection silver coins of *Tetuán*, of the smaller size, dated 1189 and 1196, of *Fas* (Fez) 1184, and of مكناس *Meknás* (Mequinez) of 1181, 1184, and 1189.

CCCLXXIII. CCCLXXIV.

UNCERTAIN.

I. AREA. (Square.) لا اله الا الله الامر كله لله
لا قوة الا بالله

Non est deus nisi Deus. Imperium omne est a Deo; nec est potentia nisi per Deum.

II. AREA. الله ربنا محمد رسولنا المهدي امامنا

Deus est dominus noster, Muhammed apostolus noster, *Al-Mahdi* antistes noster. (1 dw. 0 gr. 0 dw. 22 gr.)

This small square silver coin exhibits neither date, place, nor name of the prince. By Höst, who gives an engraving of it (Tab. XXXIII. n°. 13. 14.) it is called a half Cufic, and it may be observed, that, without any variation in the legend, the characters on some of the specimens partake of the Cufic form, whilst on the others they are the common *niskhi*, without the peculiarities of the *meghreb* or Mauritanian Arabic. Their value, if the silver be tolerably pure, should be about two and a half

half pence of our money. Others of the same square form have on one side the Third symbol, and on the Reverse, the words و لا عالم الاالله 'et nullus (est) sciens nisi Deus,' followed by what seem to be نهر and other characters of uncertain meaning. Their weight is about 12 gr.

CCCLXXV. CCCLXXVI.

محمد بن عبدالله *MUHAMMED BEN ABD-ALLAH.*

GOLD, An. 1200.

I. AREA. Imperfectly legible.

II. AREA. Cuditur in *Marâkash* (1785). 1200 ضرب بمراكش
(1 dw. 4 gr. 2 dw. $3\frac{1}{2}$ gr.)

The workmanship of this gold coin is extremely rude, and its form imperfect. Upon others of the same general appearance, but heavier, and without date or place, I can distinguish on one side the words ناصر الحق المبين, and on the other لله و الامر كله لله ..., being parts of well-known religious sentences.

CCCLXXVII.

محمد يزيد بن محمد *MUHAMMED YEZÎD BEN MUHAMMED,*

Twenty-fourth prince, and Twelfth of second Sherîf *race.*

GOLD, An. 1205-1207

I. AREA. *Al-Yezîd.* اليزيد

II. AREA. Cuditur in *Tetuân.* ضرب تطوان
(13 gr.)

No

No date is found on this small gold coin, but the reign of the atrocious barbarian by whom it was struck wanted two months of completing its second year. His life was published in French, under the corrupted name of *Muley Liezit*, in 1794. GOLD, An. 1205-1207

CCCLXXVIII.

I. AREA.	*Rabât al-Fatha.* رباط الفتح	GOLD, small, An. 1209.
II. AREA.	Anno 1209 (1794). 1209 عام	

(1 dw. 2 gr.)

In this small and neat gold piece of the year 1209, the brief inscriptions are contained within the area of a lozenge intersected by a square, on each side. Of its denomination I do not find any account, but it may be intended for a half *metbud*, although its weight is only four tenths of the *metbud* first described. Its value is about four shillings English.

Coins of Algiers, Tunis, and other Barbary states in political connection with or dependence on the Porte, will be described along with those of the Ottoman empire.

OTTOMAN

OTTOMAN OR TURKISH.

Osmân or *Othmân*,[1] the first independent chief of the Ottoman or modern Turkish race, and from whose name it derives its distinctive appellation, was the son of *Toghrul* or *Ortoghrul*, who belonged to a tribe from Turkestan which had passed into Asia minor. The father is said to have served in the army of a sultan *Khuwarezm*: the son appears to have been employed under the latter sultans of Iconium, and to have distinguished himself in the support of *Masàud's* feeble and equivocal reign.[2] Upon the extinction of that dynasty by the all-prevailing power of the Moghuls, being at the head of a considerable band of military adventurers, whose numbers increased with his success, he seized (in concurrence with other chiefs who were similarly circumstanced) upon some fastnesses of the province of Bithynia, in which he was born, and about the year 700–1300 established his residence at *Karakhisar*, from whence he afterwards removed to *Yengishari*. In this situation he carried on an active warfare against the Greeks, and made himself master of several of their strong places. His first attack upon Prusa or *Bursa*, the capital of the province, was unsuccessful; but upon a second attempt, which (according to some historians) was made a short time before his death, in 726–1326, it was carried by the valour of his son *Orkhân*, and became the seat of the Ottoman government; a preeminence

(1) This difference of orthography arises from the Persians and Turks giving to the fourth letter of the Arabic alphabet the sound of *s*, which the Arabians themselves and the Syrians pronounce nearly as our *th*.

(2) D'Herbelot is particularly incorrect in his report of the early circumstances of *Othmân's* career. "Ce personnage, he says, fut declaré après la mort de son père, l'an 687 de l'Hegire, et 1288 de J. C. par l'ordre du sultan Alaeddin ou Aladin, le Selgiucide, Prince des Turcs, et qualifié Othman Beg ou Bei." But *Ala-ed-din's* reign was from 616–1219 to 634–1236. He probably meant *Azz-ed-din*; but even of him, who died in 655–1257, *Othmân* could not be regarded as the cotemporary: nor is the political importance attributed to him, whilst that dynasty subsisted, justified by the authority of well informed historians.

nence it held until the rising destinies of the family placed them (in 1453) on the throne of Constantinople.

It does not appear that *Othmân* assumed any of the distinguishing marks of sovereignty, or the title of sultan, but was simply styled *Amîr* (Emir) or *Beg*. The succession of princes of his illustrious house, up to the present time, will appear from the following list of

OTTOMAN OR TURKISH KHANS AND SULTANS.

		A.H.	A.D.
1. *Othmân* or *Osmân ben Toghrul*	عثمان بن طغرل	700	1300
2. *Orkhân ben Othmân*	اورخان بن عثمان	726	1326
3. *Murâd ben Orkhân*	مراد بن اورخان	761	1360
4. *Bâyazîd ben Murâd*(3)	بايزيد بن مراد	792	1390
Soleimân ben Bâyazîd	سليمان بن بايزيد	806	1403
Mûsa ben Bâyazîd(4)	موسي بن بايزيد	813	1410
5. *Muhammed ben Bâyazîd*	محمد بن بايزيد	816	1413
6. *Murâd* II. *ben Muhammed*	مراد بن محمد	825	1422
7. *Muhammed* II. *ben Murâd*	محمد بن مراد	855	1451
8. *Bâyazîd* II. *ben Muhammed*	بايزيد بن محمد	886	1481
9. *Selîm ben Bâyazîd*	سليم بن بايزيد	918	1512
10. *Soleimân ben Selîm*	سليمان بن سليم	926	1520
11. *Selîm* II. *ben Soleimân*	سليم بن سليمان	974	1566
12. *Murâd* III. *ben Selîm*	مراد بن سليم	982	1574
13. *Muhammed* III. *ben Murâd*	محمد بن مراد	1003	1594
14. *Ahmed ben Muhammed*	احمد بن محمد	1012	1603
15. *Mustafa ben Muhammed*	مصطفي بن محمد	1026	1617
16. *Othmân* or *Osmân* II. *ben Ahmed*	عثمان بن احمد	1027	1618
15. *Mustafa* restored	مصطفي بن محمد	1031	1622

17. *Murâd*

(3) Surnamed by his father, from the activity of his character, يلدرم *Ilderim* or *Yilderim*, signifying 'lightning.'

(4) The nearly contemporaneous reigns of these two brothers, who were alternately in the state of fugitives, are considered by the native historians as an *interregnum*.

		A.H.	A.D.
17. *Murád* IV. *ben Ahmed*	مراد بن احمد	1032	1623
18. *Ibrahím ben Ahmed*	ابراهيم بن احمد	1049	1640
19. *Muhammed* IV. *ben Ibrahím*	محمد بن ابراهيم	1058	1648
20. *Soleimán* II. *ben Ibrahím*	سليمان بن ابراهيم	1099	1687
21. *Ahmed* II. *ben Ibrahím*	احمد بن ابراهيم	1102	1691
22. *Mustafa* II. *ben Muhammed*	مصطفي بن محمد	1106	1695
23. *Ahmed* III. *ben Muhammed*	احمد بن محمد	1114	1702
24. *Mahmúd ben Mustafa*	محمود بن مصطفي	1143	1730
25. *Othmán* III. *ben Mustafa*	عثمان بن مصطفي	1168	1754
26. *Mustafa* III. *ben Ahmed*	مصطفي بن احمد	1171	1757
27. *Abd-al-hamíd ben Ahmed*	عبد الحميد بن احمد	1187	1774
28. *Selím* III. *ben Mustafa*	سليم بن مصطفي	1203	1789
29. *Mustafa* IV. *ben Abd-al-hamíd*	مصطفي بن عبد الحميد	1222	1807
30. *Mahmúd* II. *ben Abd-al-hamíd*	محمود بن عبد الحميد	1223	1808

DENOMINATIONS OF COIN CURRENT IN THE OTTOMAN DOMINIONS.

GOLD COINS.

The Venetian sequin or gold ducat having from an early period constituted the most general currency of western Asia, appears to have served here, and in some other Mahometan states, as the model and basis of their gold coinage. Corresponding to this is the Turkish فندوق *fundúk* or فندق *funduk*, which originally weighed 54 grains, but in some of the latter reigns has been under 50. There are also fractional parts of this coin, which have their separate denominations.

Next in weight to the *fundúk* is the زرمهبوب *zer-mahbúb*, which in modern times has nearly superseded the former. Its weight is properly about 40 grains, but is sometimes found at 37 only. Such of these as are coined in the mint of Constantinople are commonly named *stambul*, as those of Cairo are named *Misri*. The term *toghrali* does not belong to a particular denomination, being applied to such pieces, whether of gold or silver, as are distinguished by the *toghra* or royal cipher, in the room of the sultan's name and titles at full length, and that of *zinjirli* (from زنجر *zinjir* a chain) seems to be given only to those coins which have been

been pierced with a hole for the purpose of hanging them on a chain about the neck.

The نصفيه *nisfîah* (from نصف *nisf* half) is the half of the *zer-mahbûb*, and should weigh about 20 grains.

The ربيع *rebîà* (from ربع *rebà* a fourth) is the fourth part of the *fundûk*, and should weigh 13½ grains. It also passes in circulation for the third part of a *zer-mahbûb*. The word التون *altûn*, often applied to the coinage, is not a denomination, but merely signifies 'gold.' The degree of fineness of this money appears from the assays of M. Bonneville to have declined in the course of the last century, from about 23½ to 19 karats, in the mint of Constantinople, and from 23 to 16 karats in that of Cairo.

SILVER COINS.

Of these the most weighty is the يوزلك *yûzlik* or pataque, equal to two piastres and a half, or 100 *parahs*. It should, when the *parah* was 9 grains, have weighed 900; but in the reign of *Selim* III. its actual weight was no more than 500 gr. The name is derived from يوز *yûz* centum.

The ايكيلك *îkîlik* (from ايكي *îkî* duo) is equal to two piastres or 80 *parahs*. Its weight is from 480 to 390 gr. One, of the reign of *Mustafa* III. weighs 445 grains.

The التمشلك *altmishlik* (from التمش *altmish* 60) or double *zolotah*, is equal to one piastre and a half, or 60 *parahs*, and is found to weigh, in different reigns, from 420 to about 300 grains.

The غروش *ghrosh* or grosh (obviously from the German) is the piastre of 40 *parahs*, and is found to weigh from about 310 down to about 200 gr. In this denomination and that of the *parah*, to which the others are reducible, the Turkish accounts are kept. Its value in ancient French money is stated to be 3 liv. 11 s. 4 den.

The زلوته or زلطه *zolotah* (a Slavonian word) and called also اوتوزلك *ûtûzlik* (from اوتوز *ûtûz* 30), is equal to 30 *parahs*, and is found to weigh from about 230 to 213 grains. By Meninski the *zolotah* is termed 'thalerus Hollandicus floreno Rhenensi æquivalens.' None of this denomination were coined in the reign of *Selîm* III. when the weight of other pieces was so considerably reduced.

The

The يارملك *yârimlik* (from يارم *yârim* dimiduum), called also يكرمشلك *yigirmishlik* (from يكرمي *yigirmi* 20), is the half piastre of 20 *parahs*, weighing from 165 to 142 grains.

The اون بشلك *on-beshlik* of 15 *parahs*, from whence the name, is found from about 100 (in one doubtful instance 145) down to 66 grains.

The اونلك *onlik* or *rebîd* of 10 *parahs* (whence the name), from 70 down to 51 grains.

The بشلك *beshlik* of 5 *parahs* (whence the name), from 40 to 22 gr. There are pieces also of about 18 gr. that may be considered as treble *parahs*; but they are rare.

The پاره *parah* of 3 aspres, is, with the piastre, the money of account, and the basis of all the other denominations. In the early reigns it appears to have weighed 12 and 9 gr., but latterly to have been reduced to 5 or less.

The اقچه *akcheh* or aspre weighs from 3 to 2 grains.

By the same accurate assayer, of the Paris mint, the adulteration of the silver coinage during the latter half of the last century is reported to have increased from the proportion of 23 parts of alloy with 32 of fine silver, to that of 37 parts of alloy with 22 of fine silver.(5)

COPPER.

Of copper money the only denomination that has presented itself is the منقور *mangûr*, said to be equal to the fourth part of an aspre or 480th of a piastre, and if the piastre be valued at four shillings or 48 pence English (which it is not intrinsically worth), the *mangûr* would be equal to the tenth part of a penny. The weight of those coined by *Soleimân* II. in 1099–1687 is from 27 to 23 grains troy. Their execution is neat, and in their inscriptions they resemble the small *toghrali* gold and silver coinage. The Persian term of پول *pûl* and the Arabic of فلس *fels* and in the plural فلوس *felûs*, are said to be also in use, but whether they

(5) M. Langlès remarks that: "À l'époque dont il s'agit (1777)... le *ghroûche* ou piastre valait deux livres tournois: mais les sulthâns Ottomans A'bdoûl-Hhamid et Selym III, actuellement régnant, ont tellement alteré la monnaie, que maintenant la piàstre n'est pas évaluée plus d'un franc cinquante centimes." Voyage en Crimée, p. 221. Note par M. L.

they are applied to the Turkish *mangúr* (as seems most likely) or to a still smaller denomination is not accurately stated.

CCCLXXIX.

اورخان بن عثمان *ORKHÂN BEN OTHMÂN* OR *OSMÂN*,

Second Ottoman or Turkish sovereign.

I. AREA. *Toghra.* SILVER, small, An. (726).

II. AREA. سلطان . رخان غازي . . مان ء . . .

Sultanus (*O*)*rkhán*, victor, *ben . . mán*.

(1 dw. 22¼ gr.)

In the infancy of states it is often apparent that the coinage is not a subject of attention, and that the individuals whose talents lead them to become the founders of empires, are content to avail themselves of the money they find in circulation, instead of proceeding immediately to recoin it in their own name. Such we know to have been the case with the earliest of the khalifs, and there is strong ground for believing that *Othmán* did not exercise this right of sovereignty. No coin of his appears in any of the collections that have come to my knowledge, and this negative evidence is supported by the assertion of the Turkish historians, that *Orkhân*, his son and successor, discontinued the use of the Seljukian money, then current throughout Asia minor, and established in lieu of it a coinage of his own.(1)

It happens unfortunately that the specimen which stands the first in this series, and which came into my possession (from the person who procured

(1) " *Orchan*, says Cantimir, ayant rangé sous son obéïssance toute la Bithynie à l'exception de Nicée, transfera l'an 728 de l'*Hegire* son siége impérial d'*Yenghischeri* à Pruse, autrement dite Burse. Il abolit aussi de l'avis de son frère *Aladin* la monnoye Seljukienne, et en fit battre une nouvelle à son coin, portant l'empreinte de son nom." Hist. de l'emp. Othoman, t. I. p. 67. ed. 1743.

Silver, (small). An. (726).

procured it at Constantinople) with a label denoting it to be the coin of *Orkhán*, not only wants the date, but is otherwise so imperfect as scarcely to admit of its being assigned, with confidence, to the reign of that prince. Yet in support of its pretensions we may observe, that the legible characters خان *khán* are more probably the last syllable of a name than the well-known Tartar title, because the latter could not follow that of *sultán*; nor, indeed, is it customary in the coinage of this empire to apply the title of *khán* to the reigning sovereign, but only to his deceased father, as will be seen in the subsequent legends; and that it cannot in the present case belong to the father, is evident from its preceding the word ابن *ibn* in the same line, followed by some characters of the name of عثمان *Othmán*, but certainly none that bear any resemblance to those of تغرل *Toghrul*, the name of *his* father. The chief objections, on the other hand, to its being attributed to *Orkhán*, are the employment of the word سلطان *sultán*, there being no historical proof of his having assumed the title, and also of the طغرا *toghra* or cipher on the Reverse (to be more particularly noticed hereafter), which may not be admitted to have been in use at this early period.

CCCLXXX.

مراد بن اورخان *MURÁD BEN ORKHÁN*,

Third prince.

Silver, small, (An. 761).

I. Area. *Murád ben Orkhán.* مراد بن اورخان

II. Area. Perpetuum sit . . . . . خلد

(17½ gr.)

The names in the legend of this small and rude coin are not liable to any doubt, and serve to confirm in some degree what was inferred respecting the name of *Orkhán* on the preceding coin. Neither date nor place

place appear, but the presumption is strong of its being from the mint of Prusa or *Bursa*. SILVER, (small) An. (761).

This prince is commonly named *Amurath* by our historians. The corruption arises, in the first place, from prefixing the article, as if he were styled *Al-Murâd*, and in the next, from the Turkish habit of pronouncing like *t*, the Arabic letter د *d*, when final. The short sentence on the Reverse appears to be the invocation of durability to the monarch's reign, which we have seen upon the money of the Moghul Tartars. It is here found to prevail until the reign of *Soleimân* the son of *Selîm*, when the coinage assumed a new character. From their relative weights we might suppose the piece last described to be an *onlik* or quarter *ghrosh*, and this, a treble *parah*, in value about two-pence farthing; but there is no certainty of these denominations having been known at so early a period.

CCCLXXXI.

بايزيد بن مراد *BÂYAZÎD BEN MURÂD,*

Fourth prince.

I. AREA. *Bâyazíd ben Murâd.* بايزيد بن مراد COPPER, (small) An. 792.

II. AREA. خلد ملكه سنه ٧٩٢

Perpetuum sit regnum ejus. Anno 792 (1390).

This small copper (or mixed metal) coin of *Bayazîd* the son of *Murâd*, whom we are accustomed to name *Bajazet*,(1) presents a more perfect and satisfactory inscription than either of the preceding, and furnishes us distinctly with the date 792 of the *hejrah*, answering to 1390 of the Christian era. This is the year in which his reign commenced; and it is

 proper

(1) Another instance is here presented of the Turkish pronunciation of the final د *d*. Thus also the name of *Muhammed* has with that people the sound of *Mchemet*, and from thence our *Mahomet*.

COPPER, (small) An. 792.

proper to remark that according to the invariable and peculiar practice of the Turkish mint, the money of each reign, whatever may have been the real time of its fabrication, is impressed with the year of the monarch's accession, and is not dated progressively, as in other countries. To remedy the obvious imperfection of this system it was at length found necessary to superadd the numerical year of the reign, (as we find it in the Moghul coinage of Hindustan), with which addition it becomes a more useful chronological record. It must at the same time be acknowledged that the information given by the coins of the Ottoman princes is meagre, monotonous, and but little available for historical purposes.

The earliest Turkish coin of which mention has hitherto been made by numismatic writers, is a silver one of this *Bayazîd*, (containing precisely the same inscription), noticed by Eichhorn (Repertorium für Biblische und Morgenländische Litteratur, XVII^er^ Theil, p. 230).

CCCLXXXII.

سليمان بن بايزيد *SOLEIMÂN BEN BÂYAZÎD.*

SILVER, small) An. 806.

I. AREA. Imperfect *toghra.* سليمان بن بايزيد

Soleimân ben Bâyazîd.

II. AREA. ٨٠٦ خلد ملكه

Perpetuum sit regnum ejus 8(0)6 (1403).

... بكر عمر عثمان علي

Abu-bekr. Omar. Othmân. Ali.

(15¼ gr. 17 gr.)

Upon the memorable defeat of *Bayazîd* by the irresistible arms of *Timûr*, the eldest of his surviving sons, named *Soleimân*, established himself at Adrianople, and continued for several years in a state of war with his brother *Mûsa*, who had been placed by the conqueror on the throne of Prusa,

Prusa, and by whom, after many reverses of fortune, he was ultimately vanquished and slain, in the year 813. *Músa* experienced the same fate, in the year 816, from the hand of their youngest brother *Muhammed*. From this divided and distracted condition of the empire, the Turkish historians in general have thought proper to consider the period as an interregnum, and to omit the names both of *Soleimân* and *Músa* in the series of their monarchs. It is evident, however, from the coin here described (of which there are two specimens) that the former exercised this essential function of royalty; and the date of 806 (1403-4) marks the period at which the reign began. In the figures composing this date there appears to be either a peculiarity or a mistake; the decimal cipher having here the form of the Arabic character for 5 (a small circle) instead of being represented as usual by a dot or point. Of the number intended to be expressed we cannot entertain a doubt.

SILVER, (small) An. 806.

The names of the Four companions and successors of the Prophet, which are found in the Margin of II., give the first indication of the religious tenets of these people, who have zealously adhered to the doctrine of the *Sunní*, as the Persians, their rivals, do to that of the *Shîàh* or sect of *Ali*. They may, indeed, be considered as a branch or offset of the *Seljúks*, who always acknowledged the khalifs of *Baghdâd* as their paramount lords, and were consequently orthodox in their faith. The name of the prince, in the Area, assumes in some degree the artificial form of the *toghra*.

CCCLXXXIII.

محمد بن بايزيد *MUHAMMED BEN BAYAZID,*

Fifth prince or sultan.

COPPER, An. 813.

I. AREA. السلطان الملك محمد . . با . .

Sultanus rex *Muhammed* (*ben*) *Bâ*(*yazíd*).

COPPER, An. 813.

II. AREA. ٨١٣ خلد ملكه و دولته

Perpetuum sint regnum et imperium ejus. 813 (1410-11.)

In this small copper piece of *Muhammed*, the youngest son of *Bâyazîd*, who, after the battle, had retired with the troops he commanded to *Amasia*, we may perceive that he dates the commencement of his reign, not from the defeat of his brother *Mûsa* in 816, but from the death of their elder brother *Soleimân*, which took place in 813. The introduction of the title of الملك 'rex,' and especially along with that of sultan, is remarkable; and the addition of the words و دولته 'et imperium suum,' is another deviation from the common style.

CCCLXXXIV.

محمد بن بايزيد *MUHAMMED BEN BÂYAZÎD.*

SILVER, An. 816.

I. AREA. سلطان بن سلطان محمد بن بايزيد خان

Sultanus filius sultani, *Muhammed* (*ben*) *Bâyazîd khan.*

II. AREA. ٨١٦ خلد ملكه . . . . ؟ ضرب بروسه

Cuditur in *Brûsah?* . . Perpetuum sit regnum suum. 816 (1413).

(19$\frac{3}{4}$ gr.)

The date of this small silver coin (perhaps a double *parah*) of *Muhammed* I. is the year in which his brother *Mûsa* was made prisoner and slain, and his own claim to the empire left undisputed. It contains the first instance of the expression of 'sultanus filius sultani,' that became common at a later period, but seems to have been discontinued from this time until the reign of *Murâd* III. which began in 982. It may be considered as an imitation of the porphyro-genitus of the Greek emperors. The name of the place of coinage is by no means free from doubt, and a word at the bottom of the area, terminating with the characters عمه, is to me unintelligible.

CCCLXXXV.

CCCLXXXV.

محمد بن بايزيد *MUHAMMED BEN BÂYAZÎD.*

I. Area. محمد بن بايزيد خان عزنصره — Silver, An. 822.

Muhammed ben Báyazíd khán. Manifestum ei sit auxilium.

II. Area. خلد ملكه ضرب بروسه ٨٢٢

Perpetuum sit &c. Cuditur in *Brúsah?* 822 (1419). (17 gr.)

Here also, although the characters are more distinct than on the preceding, a degree of uncertainty attends the place of coinage, which is intended for the same, but might be read برونا or برويا rather than بروسه *Brúsah.*

CCCLXXXVI. CCCLXXXVII.

مراد بن محمد *MURÂD* II. *BEN MUHAMMED,*

Sixth sultan.

Silver, (small) An. (825).

I. Area. مراد بن محمد خان ٨ . ٣ نجم

Murád ben Muhammed-khán. 8 . 3.

II. Area. خلد ملكه ضرب ادرنه

Perpetuum sit regnum suum. Cuditur *Adranah* (Adrianopolis). ($17\frac{3}{4}$ gr. 18 gr.)

Of this small coin there are three specimens, one of which was struck at *Adranah, Edrene,* or Adrianople, at that period the European seat of government, and two at *Tabríz* تبريز, the capital of the province of *Adherbíján,* usually subject to Persia; which serves to mark the extent of the Ottoman dominion. They are all as perfect as in their original state, and the characters are distinct; yet in respect to the date there is much

Silver, (small) An. (825).

much obscurity, each specimen containing only the Arabic numeral characters for 8 and 3, placed the one over the other, in a compartment, and having opposite to them a word that may be read نجم, which signifies a planet, horoscope, or astrological calculation. How these enigmatical figures can be understood to express the year of *Murâd's* accession, in 825, is what I am unable to determine, but it may possibly be intended for 830.

We here find the first unequivocal instance of the title of *khân* being applied to the deceased father of the reigning sultan.

CCCLXXXVIII.

مراد بن محمد *MURÂD* II. *BEN MUHAMMED.*

Copper, (small) An. 8(25)

I. Area. ٨.٣.٢. سلطان مراد بن محمد خان

Sultanus *Murâd ben Muhammed khân.* 8.3.2.

II. Area. خلد ملكه ضرب ادرنه

Perpetuum sit regnum ejus. Cuditur *Adrianopolis.*

In this copper coin of the same sultan, with an inscription similar to the preceding, the numerical figures are equally inexplicable on the general principle of Turkish numismatic dates, although in addition to the 8 and 3, a 2 appears on the opposite side of the area. We may, however, be justified in presuming it to have been struck in the year 832 (1428), the seventh of the reign. Of two specimens one only contains the title of sultan, and in other respects it exhibits some variety.

CCCLXXXIX.

محمد بن مراد *MUHAMMED* II. *BEN MURÂD,*

Seventh sultan.

I. AREA and MARGIN. ٨٥٥ . عز نصره محمد بن مراد خان

Muhammed ben Murâd-khân. Præclara sit victoria sua? Manifestum sit auxilium ejus? 855 (1451).

SILVER, (small) An. 855.

II. AREA. خلد ملكه ضرب تبريز

Perpetuum sit regnum suum. Cuditur in *Tabríz.*

(14¾ gr.)

In this small silver coin of *Muhammed* II. the son of *Murâd,* the sultan's name is in the centre, and the remainder of the words on that face, including the date, are disposed circularly, in compartments. The numeral figures representing the two fives are of a peculiar form, but as they evidently denote the year in which this sultan, the conqueror of Constantinople, ascended the throne, there can be no doubt respecting them.

CCCXC.

محمد بن مراد *MUHAMMED* II. *BEN MURÂD.*

I. AREA. سلطان محمد بن مراد

Sultanus *Muhammed ben Murâd.*

COPPER, (small) An. 857

II. AREA. خلد ملكه ضرب ادرنه ٨٥٧

Perpetuum sit regnum suum. Cuditur *Adrianopolis* 857 (1453).

Among a large number of copper coins bearing the name of *Muhammed* the son of *Murâd,* only a few are to be found with dates; but these

Copper, (small) An. 857. these are sufficient to shew that in the inferior coinage it was not the practice to confine them to the year of the accession, as in the silver; for although the sultan's reign (computing from the death of his father, who had abdicated and resumed the crown) began in 855 (1451), we here find specimens dated in 857 (the memorable year 1453, in which Constantinople was taken from the Christians), 861 and 862. On the latter the name of the sultan is thrown into the form of the *toghra*.

CCCXCI.

محمد بن مراد *MUHAMMED* II. *BEN MURÂD.*

Copper, (small) An. 861.

I. Area. محمد بن مراد

Muhammed ben Murâd.

II. Area. خلد ملكه ٨٦١

Perpetuum sit regnum ejus. 861 (1457).

CCCXCII. CCCXCIII.

بايزيد بن محمد *BÂYAZÎD* II. *BEN MUHAMMED,*

Eighth sultan.

Silver, (small) An. (886.)

I. Area. سلطان بايزيد بن محمد خان

Sultanus *Báyazíd ben Muhammed-khán.*

II. Area. عزنصره ضرب في قرطوه سنه . . . .

Manifestum auxilium (Dei) sit. Cuditur in *Kratowo*, anno . . . .

(10 gr.)

I. Area.

I. Area. ...ز.. بن محمد خان ٣ Silver, (small) An. (886).

..... filius *Muhammed khán.* 3.

II. Area. خلد ملكه ضرب برسه

Perpetuum sit regnum suum. Cuditur in *Bursah* (Prusa). (15 gr.)

One of these two small silver coins of *Báyazíd* the son of *Muhammed* (*Bajazet* II.) is from the mint of *Kratowo* or Kratova, a city of Servia, the residence of one of the four *sanjaks* by which that province (first conquered by the Ottomans in the reign of *Murád* I.) is governed.

The other, less perfect in the inscription, appears to have been coined at *Bursa* or Prusa in Bithynia. The date is not perceptible, but in one of the small compartments stands the figure 3, which may imply that it was struck in the third year of the sultan's reign. There are also two of his copper coins, one of which bears the date of ٨٨٦ 886.

CCCXCIV.

سليم بن بايزيد *SELÎM BEN BAYAZID,*

Ninth sultan.

Copper. (small) An. 918.

I. Area. ..... شاه ..... خان

II. Area. .... طنطنيه ٩١٨

Constantinopolis 918 (1512).

Although no trace of a name can be distinguished on this obscure coin, its date and the circumstance of its proceeding from the mint of Constantinople, are sufficient evidence of its belonging to *Selím* the son of *Báyazíd,* who deposed and is suspected of having poisoned his father in that year.

CCCXCV.—CCCXCVIII.

سليمان بن سليم *SOLEIMÂN BEN SELÎM,*

Tenth sultan.

GOLD, An. 926.

I. AREA. سلطان سليمان بن سليم خان عزنصره
ضرب في قسطنطنيه سنه ٩٢٦

Sultanus *Soleimân ben Selîm-khân.* Manifestum ei sit auxilium divinum. Cuditur Constantinopolis anno 926 (1520).

II. AREA. ضارب النصّر صاحب العزّ والنصّر في البر والبحر

Cudens aurum (victoriam) dominus potestatis et victoriæ super terram maremque. (53 . 53½ . 53¼ . 54½ gr.)

CCCXCIX.

سليمان بن سليم *SOLEIMÂN BEN SELÎM.*

GOLD, AU. 926.

I. AREA. سلطان سليمان بن سليم خان عزنصره
ضرب سندره قلسي سنه ٩٢٦

Sultanus *Soleimân* &c. Cuditur in *Sanderah kalesi* (Semendria s. arce Semendriæ) anno 926 (1520).

II. AREA. ضرب صاحب النضّر والنصّر في البر والبحر ح

Moneta domini auri ac victoriæ super terram maremque. (54½ gr.)

We are now arrived at a new epoch in the coinage of this empire, when instead of meagre names upon rude bits of silver and copper, we find gold pieces resembling in size and weight the sequins of Venice, and adorned with pompous sentences intended to convey an idea of the widely-extended dominion of *Soleimân* the son of *Selîm,* the most distinguished for his eminent qualities of all the Ottoman sultans or emperors,

as

as we are accustomed to term them. These are denominated *fundûk*, and like the Venetian sequins or gold ducats weigh generally about 54 grains; the coinage of which was not confined to the capital. Of five in the collection belonging to this reign, one only is from the mint of Constantinople, another is from that of Cairo, and three present the name of *Sanderah Kalesi*, the capital of Servia, otherwise written Senderow, Semender, and in Latin Semendria. The style of the inscriptions on three of them is the same, from which the fourth differs in the omission of some words in the sentence on the Reverse, which seems to render it imperfect; but by considering ضرب (at the end of the last line) as a participial noun, or the thing coined, it may express the meaning I have given. This kind of obscurity often arises from a species of epigrammatic wit, borrowed by the Turks from their Persian neighbours; and we may observe that there is here an obvious design of playing on the words نضر *nazzar* denoting the precious metals, and نصر *nasr* assistance or victory, the merit of which (if any there be) is necessarily lost in the translation. At the bottom we find the letter ح, apparently a mint-mark.

GOLD, An. 926.

CCCC. CCCCI.

سليمان بن سليم *SOLEIMÂN BEN SELÎM.*

SILVER, (small) An. 926.

I. AREA. سلطان سليمان شاه بن سليم شاه

Sultanus *Soleimân Shâh ben Selîm Shâh.*

II. AREA. عزنصره ضرب قرطوه سنه ٩٢٦

Manifestum ei sit &c. Cuditur in *Kratowo*, anno 926 (1520).

(12, 10, 14 gr.)

This legend is completed from two specimens; that one which in other respects is the more full, having the date obliterated. They were struck at Kratova in Servia. Others of an oval form, and heavier by

Silver, (small) An. 926.

three or four grains, were struck at *Haleb* or Aleppo. The Persian title of شاه *shâh* which has been noticed on an imperfect coin of his father *Selîm*, is here distinctly applied both to father and son, and will be found on coins of the grandson and great-grandson also, but at no subsequent period. It is remarkable that the title does not appear on the gold coinage of this sultan.

There are also some small square pieces of his reign, weighing 15 grains (*parah* and half) struck at جزاير *Jezâir* (Algiers) and other places on the coast of Barbary; which are perhaps the earliest specimens from those mints that have occurred.

CCCCII.

سليمان بن سليم *SOLEIMÂN BEN SELÎM.*

Copper. (small) An. 963.

I. Area. فلس بروسه سنه ٩٦٣

Follis (moneta ænea) *Brûsah*, anno 963 (1556).

II. Area. خلد ملكه

Perpetuum sit regnum ejus.

This is the most perfect amongst several copper coins of *Soleimân*, and is the first on which we read the denomination of فلس *fels* or follis, so common on those of the khalifs. It was struck at a late period of his long and glorious reign, which terminated in 974. There are ruder specimens dated in 928–1522, and 935–1528-29; all from the mint of *Brusah*, the Asiatic capital of his dominions.

CCCCIII.

سليم بن سليمان *SELÎM* II. *BEN SOLEIMÂN*, *Eleventh sultan.*

I. AREA. سلطان سليم بن سليمان خان عزنصره ضرب في مصر سنه ٩٧٤ — GOLD, An. 974.

Sultanus *Selím ben Soleimán khán.* Manifestum ei sit auxilium divinum. Cuditur in *Misr* (*Kâhirah*) anno 974 (1566-7.)

II. AREA. ضارب النضر صاحب العز و النصر في البر و البحر
Cudens aurum &c. (54 gr.)

CCCCIV.

سليم بن سليمان *SELÎM* II. *BEN SOLEIMÂN.*

I. AREA. سلطان سليم شاه بن سلطان سليمان خان عزنصره ضرب في حلب سنه ٩٧٤ — GOLD, An. 974.

Sultanus *Selím sháh* filius sultani *Soleimán khán.* Manifestum ei sit auxilium divinum. Cuditur in *Haleb* (Aleppo) anno 974 (1566-7).

II. AREA. As in the preceding. (49 gr.)

The first of these two *fundúks* of *Selím*, from the mint of Cairo, and weighing 54 grains, differs in nothing from the generality of those of the same denomination coined by his father *Soleimán*. The second, however, struck at Aleppo, and lighter by five grains, is distinguished from them by more than one peculiarity. The reigning prince, besides the usual title of *sultán*, takes here that of *sháh*, and gives to his royal predecessor, in addition to the customary appendage of *khán*, the title of *sultán*, which is in every other instance that has occurred to my observation confined to the actual sovereign; but as the anomaly has been noticed by Professor Tychsen of Rostock, on a coin of *Soleimán* the son of *Selím*, struck likewise at Aleppo, and preserved in the Museum of the

GOLD, An. 974. the Academy of Upsal, we may conclude it to have been the practice of that provincial mint.

CCCCV. CCCCVI.

سليم بن سليمان *SELÎM* II. *BEN SOLEIMÂN.*

SILVER, (small) An. 974.

I. AREA. سلطان سليم بن سليمان خان
Sultanus *Selím ben Soleimân khán.*

II. AREA. عزنصره ضرب .. وابرد سنه ٩٧٤
Manifestum ei sit &c. Cuditur in *Mawaberd*, anno 974 (1566-7).
(10½, 9½ gr.)

One of the silver coins of this reign appears to have been struck at a place the name of which concludes with characters that may be read *wâberd*, probably for *Mawaberd*, a city enumerated by O. G. Tychsen amongst the urbes monetariæ of this empire, but of which I have not been able to ascertain the situation.

There is also a small neat copper coin of the same sultan, struck at Constantinople.

CCCCVII.—CCCCIX.

مراد بن سليم *MURÂD* III. *BEN SELÎM,*
Twelfth sultan.

GOLD, An. 982.

I. AREA. سلطان مراد شاه بن سليم خان عزنصره
ضرب في قسطنطنيه . . . ٩٨٢
Sultanus *Murâd shâh ben Selím khán.* Manifestum ei sit &c.
Cuditur in *Constantinopolis* . . . 982 (1574).

II. AREA. As in the *fundúk* of 974. (47½ . 53 . 53¼ grs.)

CCCCX.

CCCCX.

مراد بن سليم *MURÂD* III. *BEN SELÎM.*

GOLD, AN. 982.

I. AREA. سلطان مراد بن سليم خان عزنصره
ضرب في ساقرنه سنه ٩٨٢

Sultanus *Murâd ben Selîm khân.* Manifestum &c. Cuditur in *Sâkarnah?* anno 982 (1574).

II. AREA. As in the *fundûk* of 974. (53 gr.)

Of seven gold coins belonging to the reign of *Murâd* III. the son of *Selîm*, four are distinguished from each other by little else than the places where they were struck. They all bear the date of his accession, 982. One of them is from the mint of Constantinople; the second, from a place that seems to be خاجه *Khânjah*, perhaps for the Georgian city of كنجه *Kanjah*; the third from بغداد *Baghdâd*; and the fourth from an unknown place distinctly written ساقرنه *Sâkarnah*. The fifth, sixth, and seventh, from the mint of Cairo, will be separately noticed. On the first we find the title of *shâh*, as in the coinage of *Selîm*, and it may be observed that the word سنه anno is omitted in this as in most of the gold money from the mint of the capital, whilst in those of the provinces it is preserved. In the inscription of the second the title of *shâh* does not appear. In the third (the words of which are unusually transposed) the title of *khân* is annexed to the name of *Murâd*, as well as to that of his deceased father. We perceive also the letters سن in the centre of the inscription, the connexion or meaning of which is not apparent. The fourth has nothing peculiar in the titles. Its characters are remarkably fair and legible.

CCCCXI.

CCCCXI.

مراد بن سليم *MURÂD* III. *BEN SELÍM.*

GOLD, An. 982.

I. AREA. سلطان مراد بن سليم خان عزنصره
ضرب في مصر سنه ٩٨٢

Sultanus *Murâd ben Selím khán.* Manifestum ei sit auxilium divinum. Cuditur in *Misr*, anno 982 (1574).

II. AREA. سلطان البرين و خاقان البحرين السلطان بن السلطان

Sultanus duarum continentium et dominus duorum marium. Sultanus filius sultani. (54 . 53¾ . 53 gr.)

In these three *fundúks* or sequins of the same sultan, the legend on the Reverse has experienced a material change. They were probably struck towards the close of his reign, and we here find him styled the prince of the two continents (Europe and Asia,) and lord of the two seas (Mediterranean and Euxine): a form that has been continued, with few exceptions, to the present day. The title of خاقان *khákán*, compounded, as it would seem, of the words خان *khán* and قاان *káan*, occurs here for the first time, but was in ancient use amongst the people of *Turkistán*, and became well known to our historians.(1) The concluding distinction of "sultanus filius sultani," already noticed under the reign of *Muhammed* I., has from this time formed a part of the regal style of the Ottoman sovereigns.

(1) "Caganus, Cacanus. Sic Avares, seu Hunni, reges suos vocabant ... Sigebertus 520 ... Occurrit passim apud Paulun Diac. Theophanem, Zonaram, Cedrenum, et alios scriptores Byzantinos." Du Cange, ad verbum.

CCCCXII.

مراد بن سليم *MURÂD* III. *BEN SELÎM.*

I. Area. سلطان مراد بن سليم خان — Silver, (small)
Sultanus *Murâd ben Selîm khân.* — An. 982.

II. Area. عزنصره ضرب سندره قلسي ٩٨٢

Manifestum ei sit &c. Cuditur in *Sanderah Kalesi* (Arce Semendriæ) 982 (1574). (9 gr.)

This small coin may be considered as a good specimen of the *parah*, which seems to have diminished in weight from twelve to nine, and in later times to about five or six grains.

CCCCXIII. CCCCXIV.

محمد بن مراد *MUHAMMED* III. *BEN MURAD,*

Thirteenth sultan.

I. Area. سلطان محمد بن مراد خان عزنصره
ضرب في دمشق سنه ١٠٠٣ — Gold, An. 1003.

Sultanus *Muhammed ben Murâd khân.* Manifestum ei sit &c. Cuditur in *Demeshk* (Damasco) anno 1003 (1594).

II. Area. As in gold coin of 974. ($51\frac{1}{2}$ gr.)

I. Area. ضرب في قسطنطنيه سنه ١٠٠٣

Cuditur *Constantinopolis*, anno 1003. (53 gr.)

CCCCXV. CCCCXVI.

محمد بن مراد *MUHAMMED* III. *BEN MURÂD.*

GOLD, An. 1003.

I. AREA. سلطان محمد بن مراد خان عزنصره
ضرب في مصر سنه ١٠٠٣

Sultanus *Muhammed ben Murâd khân.* Manifestum ei sit &c
Cuditur in *Misr*, anno 1003 (1594).

II. AREA. سلطان البرين و خاقان البحرين السلطان
بن السلطان

Sultanus duarum continentium &c. (53 gr.)

I. AREA. ضرب في حلب سنه ١٠٠٣

Cuditur in *Haleb* (Aleppo) anno 1003. (53½ gr.)

Of four *fundûks* of *Muhammed* III. weighing from 53½ to 51½ grains, the first and second, coined at Damascus and Constantinople, retain the more ancient inscription, whilst the third, coined at Cairo, and the fourth at Aleppo, bear the modern one introduced by his father.

There are also two small and rude silver coins (one weighing 22 and the other 15½ grains), without date, impressed with the name of *Muhammed* and an imperfect representation of the *toghra*, which, from their resemblance in point of execution to those of the reign next succeeding, may be presumed to belong to this sultan, rather than to any other of the name.

CCCCXVII. CCCCXVIII.

احمد بن محمد *AHMED BEN MUHAMMED,*

Fourteenth sultan.

I. Area. سلطان احمد بن محمد خان عزنصره — Gold, An. 1012.
ضرب في مصر سنه ١٠١٢

Sultanus *Ahmed ben Muhammed khân.* Manifestum ei sit &c.
Cuditur in *Misr*, anno 1012 (1603).

II. Area. &c. سلطان البرين وخاقان البحرين

Sultanus duarum continentium &c. (53 gr.)

I. Area. ضرب في امد سنه ١٠١٣

Cuditur in *Amid*, anno 1013 (1604). ($51\frac{1}{2}$ gr.)

Of these two *fundûks* of *Ahmed* the son of *Muhammed*, the one is from the mint of Cairo, and weighs 53 grains, the other, weighing $51\frac{1}{2}$, from that of *Amid* or Amida, a town of Diarbeker or Mesopotamia, on the banks of the Tigris. In the style of their inscription there is nothing peculiar, but the date of the latter is remarkable, being 1013 instead of 1012, in which his reign commenced, and which appears on the coinage of other mints.

CCCCXIX.

احمد بن محمد *AHMED BEN MUHAMMED.*

I. Area. السلطان احمد بن محمد خان — Silver, An. (1012)
دام ملكه ضرب في ..... طنبه .....

Sultanus *Ahmed ben Muhammed khân.* Perduret regnum ejus.
Cuditur *Constantinopolis.*

SILVER, An.(1012)

II. AREA. سلطان البرين و خاقان &c.

Sultanus duarum continentium &c. (153 gr.)

Hitherto the silver coins occurring in this part of the collection have in general been of the small kind denominated *parahs;* but at this period a more systematic division of the coinage appears to have taken place, and silver pieces (if, adulterated as they are, they merit that appellation) of a very large size, with all the subordinate gradations, were issued from the Turkish mints. Their names and relative value have been already given. The coin now before us is termed *yárimlik* يارملك or demi-piastre, and is equal to 20 *parahs*. The workmanship is remarkably good, the inscription correct, the words well disposed, and the form of the characters the most elegant *niskhi*. Instead of the ancient phrase, خلد ملكه perpetuum sit regnum ejus, which I do not find on coins of a later date than 861 (1457), we observe here دام ملكه, having nearly the same import. Owing to some accidental corrosion the name of the place and the date are nearly obliterated. The small letters عد at the bottom are a mint or other private mark.

CCCCXX.

احمد بن محمد *AHMED BEN MUHAMMED.*

SILVER, (small, square) An. 1012.

I. AREA. سلطان احمد بن محمد عزنصره ضرب تونس

Sultanus *Ahmed ben Muhammed.* Manifestum ei sit auxilium divinum. Cuditur in *Tûnis.*

II. AREA. Not intelligible. ... في اكا s. كافي ..... ($8\frac{1}{4}$ gr.)

We have here an early specimen of the square *parah* from the mint of *Tunis* in Africa, weighing upon an average of four specimens, six grains and five-eighths. On one of them are the numeral figures ٢٥ (25), on another ١٢ (12), with ٢ (2) near the centre, and on a third, ٩ (9) near the centre.

centre. The numbers in the centre probably denote the years of the reign, which did not exceed fifteen; but it would be difficult to reconcile the others with the years of the *hejrah*. Silver, (small, square) An. 1012.

There are also several small round silver coins of this sultan, rude in point of workmanship, and imperfect in their inscriptions, weighing respectively 29, 28, 17, and so low as 4 grains.

CCCCXXI.

عثمان بن احمد *OTHMÁN* II. *BEN AHMED*,

Sixteenth sultan.

I. Area. سلطان عثمان بن احمد خان
عزنصره ضرب قسطنطنيه سنه ١٠٢٧ Silver, (small) An. 1027.

Sultanus *Othmán ben Ahmed khán*. Manifestum ei sit auxilium divinum. Cuditur Constantinopolis, anno 1027 (1618).

II. Area. سلطان ا . . و خاقان البحرين &c.

Sultanus duarum continentium et dominus duorum marium &c. (43½ gr.)

Othmán or *Osmán*, whose accession dates from the deposition of his uncle *Mustafa* in 1026–1617, finished his youthful career by a violent death in 1031. This coin expresses the year 1027, which (as the revolution that placed him on the throne happened at the close of the preceding year) may be considered as the first of his reign. Its weight is that of the *beshlik* of five *parahs*. It differs from all the other coinage of this dynasty in having the legend of I. disposed in a double circle round the name of the reigning sultan in the centre.

CCCCXXII.

CCCCXXII.

مصطفي بن محمد *MUSTAFA BEN MUHAMMED,*

Fifteenth sultan, restored.

SILVER, (small) An. 1031.

I. AREA. . . . . مصطفي بن محمد ١٠٣١ سلطان

Mustafa ben Muhammed 1031 (1622) sultanus.

II. AREA. &c. سلطان البرين و خاقان البحرين

Sultanus duarum continentium &c. (39½ gr.)

Mustafa the son of *Muhammed* and brother of *Ahmed* the last sultan, succeeded to the throne in November 1617, which corresponds with the last month of the year 1026 of the *hejrah*, and was deposed in the following year. In May 1622 he was restored, and as 1032 of the *hejrah* began in the month of October in that year, the date of 1031 on this rude silver coin is quite consistent with history. He was a second time restored and finally deposed in 1032–1623. The specimen is in so bad a state, that were it not for the numeral figures happening to be distinct, it would be impossible to determine to which sultan of the name of *Mustafa* it belonged. Its weight (making allowance for diminution by wear) denotes it to be a piece of five *parahs*.

CCCCXXIII.

مراد بن احمد *MURÂD* IV. *BEN AHMED,*

Seventeenth sultan.

GOLD, An. (1032)

I. AREA. سلطان مراد بن احمد خان عزنصره
ضرب في مصر سنه ٢ . . .

Sultanus *Murâd ben Ahmed khân.* Manifestum ei sit &c. Cuditur in *Misr*, anno . . . 2 (1623).

II. AREA.

II. Area. &c. سلطان البرين و خاقان — Gold, An.(1032)

Sultanus duarum continentium &c. (52½ gr.)

This *fundûk* of *Murâd* the son of *Ahmed*, who succeeded his contemptible and unfortunate uncle *Mustafa* (of which there are two indifferent specimens), presents nothing remarkable, and the workmanship does little credit to the mint of Cairo. There are no remaining traces of a date on one specimen, and on another only the figure ٣ . From the circumstance of this sultan having ascended the throne near the close of the year 1032, it happens that whilst the gold coinage bears that date, the silver exhibits 1033.

CCCCXXIV.

مراد بن احمد *MURÂD* IV. *BEN AHMED.*

I. Area. سلطان مراد بن احمد خان — Silver, (small, square)

Sultanus *Murâd ben Ahmed khân.*

II. Area. عزنصره ضرب تونس سنه ١٠٣٣ — An. 1033.

Manifestum ei sit &c. Cuditur in *Tunis*, anno 1033 (1623). (9 gr.)

This small coin struck at *Tûnis* is a good specimen of the square *parah*, having the inscription legible on both sides, and a distinct date, being that of the first year of his reign; although according to *Cantimir* his accession took place in the eleventh month of the year 1032. There are also several specimens of a shape imperfectly round, that appear to be double and treble *parahs*. One of them exhibits the *toghra*, more artificially combined than on the earlier coinage; of which cipher or monogram, peculiar to this dynasty, we may observe that it contains the characters composing the name, patronymic, and some of the titles of the sovereign, and that it was perhaps suggested by the تمغا *tamgha* or device of the Moghul princes. By Meninski it is thus defined: "Signum regium ductibus suis insigne, nomen principis comprehendens, quod diplomati vel epistolo regis in fronte præfigi solet."

CCCCXXV.

CCCCXXV.—CCCCXXVIII.

ابراهيم بن احمد *IBRÂHÎM BEN AHMED.*

Eighteenth sultan.

SILVER, (small) An. 1049.

I. AREA. ابراهيم بن احمد خان

Ibráhím ben Ahmed khán.

II. AREA. عزنصره ضرب مصر سنه ١٠٤٩

Manifestum ei sit &c. Cuditur in *Misr*, anno 1049 (1639). (21½ gr.)

I. AREA. *Toghra.* سلطان ابراهيم بن احمد خان

Sultanus *Ibráhím ben Ahmed khán.*

II. AREA. خلد ملكه ضرب قسطنطنيه ١٠٤٩

Perpetuum sit regnum suum. Cuditur Constantinopolis, 1049 (1639). (21½ gr.)

I. AREA. سلطان ابراهيم . . . . .

Sultanus *Ibráhím* . . . . .

II. AREA. ضرب امد ١٠٤٩ !

Cuditur in *Amid*, 1049 (1639). (17½ gr.)

I. AREA. سلطان ابراهيم بن احمد خان

Sultanus *Ibráhím ben Ahmed khán.*

II. AREA. عزنصره ضرب قسطنطنيه ١٠٤٠ . .

Cuditur Constantinopolis, 104. . (5 gr.)

Among several small coins of this sultan, the son of *Ahmed* and brother of *Murád* whom he succeeded, there are four that may be thought worthy of notice. The first, coined at Cairo, has the legend disposed circularly, with his name in the centre of I. and the date of 1049, in that of II. The second is from the mint of Constantinople, and the third from that of *Amid* or Amida in *Diarbekr*, both of which exhibit the *toghra*. The fourth is remarkable only for legible inscriptions on

on so small a surface. From its weight of five grains we may infer it to be a piece of two aspres. SILVER, (small) An. 1049.

CCCCXXIX.—CCCCXXXI.

محمد بن ابراهيم *MUHAMMED* IV. *BEN IBRÂHÎM.*

I. AREA. سلطان محمد بن ابراهيم خان عزنصره GOLD, An. 1058.
ضرب في قسطنطنيه ١٠٥٨

Sultanus *Muhammed ben Ibráhîm khán.* Manifestum ei sit &c.
Cuditur Constantinopolis 1058 (1648).

II. AREA. سلطان البرين و خاقان &c.

Sultanus duarum continentium &c. (50 gr.)

I. AREA. سلطان محمد &c. ضرب في مصر سنه ١٠٥٨

Sultanus *Muhammed* &c. Cuditur in *Misr*, anno 1058.

II. AREA. As in the preceding. (52 gr.)

I. AREA. ضرب طرابلوس غرب ٨ . . .

Cuditur *Trabolús* (Tripolis) occidentis . . . 8.

II. AREA. . . . . صاحب العزو النصر في البر والبحر

. . . . . præditus potestate et victoria super terram maremque.
($52\frac{1}{2}$ gr.)

Of these three *fundúks* coined by *Muhammed* IV., the first and second, from the mints of Constantinople and Cairo, present nothing remarkable. Their date, although the figures are not quite perfect on either of the specimens, is evidently 1058. According to Demetrius Cantimir and some other writers, however, his reign began in the seventh month of 1059; but here we cannot hesitate to pronounce the historians in an error; because the date on the coinage could not by any means

GOLD, An. 1058. have preceded the year of the accession.(1) A third is from the mint of Tripoli in Africa. The distinction between this and another city of the same name in Syria, is usually marked by the word غرب occidentis, which here (if it be in fact intended for that word) has more the appearance of عنة, formed in an artificial manner. Other characters in that part of the inscription are defaced. The legend on the Reverse is that which had been in use previously to the change made by *Murad* III.

CCCCXXXII.

محمد بن ابراهيم *MUHAMMED* IV. *BEN IBRAHÍM.*

SILVER, (small) An. 1058.

I. AREA. *Toghra.*

II. AREA. سلطان محمد بن ابراهيم خان
عزنصره ضرب بغداد ١٠٥٨

Sultanus *Muhammed ben Ibráhím khán.* Manifestum ei sit &c.
Cuditur in *Baghdâd*, 1058 (1648). (45½ gr.)

This silver coin of five *parahs*, from the mint of *Baghdâd* (a name by which that city was rarely designated in the days of its splendour), resembles those described under the preceding reign, with this difference only, that the name of the sultan does not appear, as there, within the body of the *toghra*, nor is it to be traced in the strokes of which it is formed.

(1) The authority of the coin is supported by a passage in the 'Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits du Roi,' where it is said: 'Mohammed fut couronné le 17 de redjeb 1058.' T. I. p. 248.

CCCCXXXIII.

سليمان بن ابراهيم *SOLEIMÂN* III. *BEN IBRÂHÎM,*

Twentieth sultan.

I. Area. سلطان سليمان بن ابراهيم خان
عزنصره ضرب في مصر سنه ٩٩..

Gold, An. 1099.

Sultanus *Soleimân ben Ibrâhîm khân.* Manifestum ei sit &c.
Cuditur in *Misr,* anno . . 99 (1687).

II. Area. سلطان البرين و خاقان .&c

Sultanus duarum continentium &c. ($52\frac{1}{2}$ gr.)

The workmanship of this *fundûk* is unusually rude, and it would seem that the mint of Cairo was at this period neglected. The inscription does not contain any thing peculiar.

CCCCXXXIV.

سليمان بن ابراهيم *SOLEIMÂN* III. *BEN IBRÂHÎM.*

I. Area. السلطان سليمان بن ابراهيم خان
دام ملكه ضرب في قسطنطينه ١٠٩٩

Silver, (large) An. 1099.

Sultanus *Soleimân ben Ibrâhîm khân.* Perduret regnum ejus.
Cuditur Constantinopolis, 1099 (1687).

II. Area. سلطان البرين و خاقان .&c ٧

Sultanus duarum continentium &c. 7. (294 grs.)

This is the first specimen that presents itself in the collection, of the large Turkish coinage, which affects to be silver, but is adulterated with a large proportion of tin or zinc. On the other hand, the workmanship is admirable, and it is matter of surprise how much the pieces of all de-

SILVER, (large) An. 1099.

scriptions resemble each other in point of execution, from this down to the most modern period. Its denomination is the غروش *ghrosh* or piastre, of 40 *párahs*, at the rate of $7\frac{1}{3}$ grains to the *párah*. The date of 1099, being that of the accession, appears, as usual, on the one side, and on the other we perceive a numeral that denotes it to be the seventh year of the reign.

CCCCXXXV.

سليمان بن ابراهيم *SOLEIMÂN* III. *BEN IBRÂHÎM.*

COPPER, An. 1099.

I. AREA. *Toghra.* سليمان بن ابراهيم خان
Soleimán ben Ibráhím khán.

II. AREA. ضرب في قسطنطنيه ١٠٩٩
Cuditur Constantinopolis, 1099 (1687).

We have here also the earliest specimen (from amongst many others) of a neat and perfect copper coinage, with the place and date on one side, and on the other the *toghra* or monogram of the sultan, produced by a fanciful distortion of the characters that express the name. Within the curved lines of this we perceive the word صما, the signification of which does not appear; but as it is repeated on the subsequent coinage, we may suppose it to be a mint mark. In the language of the Turks it is denominated منقور *mangúr*, and is equivalent to the Persian پول *púl*, and the Arabian فلس *fels*, or in the plural *felús*. In value it is said to be the same as the aspre.

CCCCXXXVI.

احمد بن ابراهيم *AHMED* II. *BEN IBRAHIM,*

Twenty-first sultan.

I. Area. ..... بن ابراهيم خان عزنصره ضرب في مصر
سنه ١١٠٢

Gold, An. 1102

..... *ben Ibráhím khán.* Manifestum ei sit &c. Cuditur in *Misr*, anno 1102 (1690).

II. Area. &c. سلطان البرين و خاقان

Sultanus duarum continentium &c. (44½ gr.)

This *fundúk*, or imitation of it, coined at Cairo in the reign of *Ahmed* II., is not only much alloyed with silver, but is also lighter by eight or nine grains than the same gold money of the capital.

CCCCXXXVII.

احمد بن ابراهيم *AHMED* II. *BEN IBRÂHÎM.*

I. Area. السلطان احمد بن ابراهيم خان
دام ملكه ضرب في قسطنطينه ١١٠٢

Silver, (large) An. 1102.

Sultanus *Ahmed ben Ibráhím khán.* Perduret regnum ejus. Cuditur Constantinopolis, anno 1102 (1690).

II. Area. &c. سلطان البرين و خاقان

Sultanus duarum continentium &c. (301 gr.)

This *altmishlik.* or double *zolotah* entirely resembles that of the same denomination described under the preceding reign. Amongst the coinage of this sultan we also find the first specimen of the يارملك *yárimlik* or half

SILVER, (large) An. 1102. half piastre of 20 *parahs*. Its weight is 145½ grains. The inscription is the same as on the larger piece. There is likewise a specimen of the *mangûr* or small copper coin.

CCCCXXXVIII. CCCCXXXIX.

مصطفي بن محمد *MUSTAFA BEN MUHAMMED,*

Twenty-second sultan.

GOLD, An. 1106.

I. AREA. *Toghra.* سلطان مصطفي بن محمد خان
عزنصره ضرب في قسطنطينه ١١٠٦

Mustafa ben Muhammed khân. Manifestum ei sit &c. Cuditur Constantinopolis 1106 (1695).

II. AREA. &c. سلطان البرين و خاقان

Sultanus duarum continentium &c. (50½ gr.)

I. AREA. *Toghra.*

عزنصره ضرب في مصر سنه ١١٠٦

Manifestum &c. Cuditur in *Misr*, anno 1106 (53½ gr.)

We have already seen the *toghra* upon the silver and the copper coinage. The *fundûks* of this reign exhibit its first appearance on the gold. Beneath it is the place of coinage and the date of the accession. The characters صا observed on a *mangûr* or *fels* of the preceding reign, but from the same mint, are here perceptible. The first of these two gold pieces, struck at Constantinople, is broader in shape than the usual size of the *fundûks*, but at the same time is lighter by three grains than the second, from the mint of Cairo.

CCCCXL.

مصطفي بن محمد *MUSTAFÁ BEN MUHAMMED.*

I. Area. السلطان مصطفي بن محمد خان دام ملكه
ضرب في قسطنطينه ١١٠٦ Silver, An. 1106.

Sultanus *Mustafa ben Muhammed khân.* Perduret regnum suum.
Cuditur Constantinopolis, 1106 (1695).

II. Area. As in the preeeding. (309 gr.)

Besides this *altmishlik* struck at Constantinople, there is another of the same reign from the mint of ادرنه *Adranah* or Adrianople, weighing 300 grains, and a third from that of ازمير *Izmîr* or Smyrna, of 296 grains; in addition to which there are two *yârimliks* or half piastres of 155 and 152 grains, coined at *Adranah,* and two of 142 and 93 (if the latter, indeed, which is much worn, be not an *unbeshlik* of 15 *parahs*) from that of Constantinople; and also a small neat coin of *Adranah,* weighing only 11 grains, which would denote it to be rather one *parah* and a half than a single *parah.*

The inscriptions of all these are nearly uniform, but another silver coin of *Mustafa* claims particular remark, in the first place on account of its superior weight of 420 grains, denoting it to be an ايكيلك *îkîlik* of 80 *parahs* or a two piastre piece, and in the next, from this adventitious circumstance, that under, or along with, the Arabic legend and the *toghra,* we can distinguish traces of the Belgic lion rampant, with the letters ARG. PRO . . . . BELG. on the one side, and on the other . . . . NS. D . . . . TUR; shewing it to have been a Dutch rixdaler, which has received a second impression in the Turkish mint. It cannot fail, at the same time, to be matter of surprise, that it should answer the purposes of this government to stamp pieces of superior intrinsic value with inscriptions that must bring them to the level of their own base currency.

CCCCXLI.

CCCCXLI.—CCCCXLVI.

احمد بن محمد *AHMED BEN MUHAMMED,*

Twenty-third sultan.

GOLD, An. 1115.

I. AREA. *Toghra.* احمد بن محمد خان
عزنصره ضرب في قسطنطينه سنه ١١١٥

Ahmed ben Muhammed khán. Manifestum ei sit &c. Cuditur Constantinopolis, anno 1115 (1703).

II. AREA. &c. سلطان البرين وخاقان

Sultanus duarum continentium &c. (54 . 53¾ gr.)

I. AREA. *Toghra.* احمد بن محمد خان
Ahmed ben Muhammed khán.

II. AREA. ضرب في اسلامبول ١١١٥

Cuditur in *Islámbúl* (Constantinopolis) 1115 (1703). (54 . 53¾ gr.)

II. AREA. ضرب في مصر سنه ١١١٥

Cuditur in *Misr* (*Káhirah*) anno 1115. (53½ gr.)

II. AREA. ضرب في اسلامبول ١١١٥

Cuditur in *Islámbúl*, 1115. (26 gr.)

I. AREA. *Toghra.* احمد بن محمد خان
عزنصره ضرب في اسلامبول ١١١٥

Ahmed ben Muhammed khán. Manifestum ei sit &c. Cuditur in *Islámbúl* (Constantinopolis) 1115.

II. AREA. &c. سلطان البرين وخاقان

Sultanus duarum continentium &c. (20 gr.)

I. AREA. *Toghra.* عزنصره ضرب في مصر سنه ١١١٥

Manifestum sit &c. Cuditur in *Misr*, anno 1115. (53 gr.)

Under

Under *Ahmed* III. the son of *Muhammed*, the coinage of the Turkish empire appears to have attained a considerable degree of excellence, and the specimens of it in the collection are more than usually rich in number and variety. The gold sequins, though varying in size or extent of surface, have all the weight of from 54 to 53 grains, and are generally impressed with the *toghra;* but exclusively of those whereon it is accompanied with the usual sentences, we find others (of all gradations) with much smaller surfaces, in which the *toghra* alone occupies one side, and the place and date the Reverse. From this peculiarity they are distinguished by the epithet of *fundúk-toghrâli.* In respect to weight they are fully equal to the others, and although one specimen is from the mint of *Misr* or Cairo, and another from that of Constantinople, they are both nearly alike in neatness and simplicity. Upon the latter the name of the imperial capital is changed from قسطنطينه *Costantînah*, or قسطنطنيه *Costantinîah*, to اسلامبول *Islâmbûl*, or اسلامپول *Islâmpûl*, in which word, at the same time that it imitates the Greek termination, a meaning is conveyed (in an Arabic and Turkish compound) that implies the 'amplitude of the true faith.' It had from an earlier period been corruptly named اسطانپول *Istânpûl*, from whence the quaint transition to *Islâmpûl*, was easy: and here I must observe, that the generally received etymology of the former, from the Greek expression of εἰς τὴν (or των) πόλιν, however ingenious, seems to me fanciful and improbable. *Stanpul* is in itself no very unreasonable contraction, by rude foreigners, of so long a word as Κωνσταντινοπολις, and it is well known that the Arabians and Turks commonly prefix an ا, sounded as a short '*i*' to proper names, which either in their original form or in the corruption would otherwise begin with '*s*' followed by another consonant, and accordingly pronounce *Istanpul*, on the same principle of liquid articulation, that they do *Ismîr* for Smyrna, *Ismid* and *Isnimid* for Nicomedia, and *Iskanderîah* for Alexandria. The oriental scholar will also be aware how inapplicable the soft breathing of *alif-hamza* would be to express the strong diphthongal sound of ει.

GOLD, An. 1115.

There are also a half-*fundûk-toghrali* corresponding to the *fundûk* last described, but weighing 26 instead of 27 grains, in consequence of a hole pierced in it: and a smaller and very neat coin, with the *toghra* and date on one side and usual full inscription on the other, weighing only

GOLD, An. 1115. 20 grains, which must be considered as a *nisfíah* or half-*zermahbúb*, although we do not find any specimen of the *zermahbúb* itself until the next reign. These in like manner bear the name of *Islámbúl*.

CCCCXLVII.—CCCCLXII.

أحمد بن محمد *AHMED BEN MUHAMMED.*

SILVER, An. 1115.

I. AREA. *Toghra.* احمد بن محمد خان صفا
ضرب في قسطنطنيه ١١١٥

Ahmed ben Muhammed khán. Cuditur in *Kostantiníah* (Constantinopolis) 1115 (1703).

II. AREA. As in preceding coins. (415 gr.)

I. AREA. السلطان احمد بن محمد خان
دام ملكه ضرب في قسطنطينه ١١١٥

Sultanus *Ahmed ben Muhammed khán.* Perduret regnum suum. Cuditur in *Kostantínah* (Constantinopolis) 1115 (1703).

II. AREA. As in preceding coins. (298 gr.)

I. AREA. As in the preceding. ضرب في قسطنطينه ١١١٥
Cuditur Constantinopolis 1115. (164½ gr.)

I. AREA. *Toghra.* ضرب في قسطنطنيه ١١١٥
Cuditur Constantinopolis 1115. (99½ gr.)

I. AREA. *Toghra.* ضرب في ايروان ١١١٥
Cuditur in *Irwán* 1115. (84½ gr.)

I. AREA. *Toghra.* ضرب في تفليس ١١١٥
Cuditur in *Teflís* 1115. (82½ gr.)

I. AREA.

SILVER, An. 1115.

I. AREA. *Toghra.* ضرب في كنجه ١١١٥
Cuditur in *Kanjah* 1115. (82½ gr.)

I. AREA. *Toghra.* ضرب في تبريز ١١١٥
Cuditur in *Tabríz* 1115. (82½ . 79 . 75½ gr.)

I. AREA. *Toghra.* ضرب في قسطنطنيه ١١١٥
Cuditur Constantinopolis 1115. (51½ . 46½ gr.)

I. AREA. *Toghra.* ضرب في تبريز ١١١٥
Cuditur in *Tabríz* 1115 (36 gr.)

I. AREA. *Toghra.* ضرب في قسطنطينه ١١١٥
Cuditur Constantinopolis 1115. (10 gr.)

I. AREA. *Toghra.* ضرب في مصر سنه ١١١٥
Cuditur in *Misr*, anno 1115. (8 . 7½ gr.)

I. AREA. *Toghra.* ضرب في اسلامبول ١١١٥
Cuditur in *Islámbúl* 1115. (7 . 6 . 5½ gr.)

I. AREA. *Toghra.* ضرب في قسطنطنيه ١١١٥
Cuditur Constantinopolis 1115. (3 . 2½ gr.)

I. AREA. السلطان احمد بن محمد
Sultanus *Ahmed ben Muhammed.*

II. AREA. عزنصره ضرب في قسطنطنيه ١١١٥
Manifestum ei sit auxilium (divinum). Cuditur Constantinopolis 1115. (4½ . 3¾ gr.)

I. and II. AREAS. As in the preceding. (3 . 2½ gr.)

The silver, or pretended silver series of *Ahmed* III. is here nearly complete, and consists of the following denominations: an *altmishlik*, double *zolotah* or piece of 60 *parahs*, weighing 415 grains; a *ghrosh* or piastre, of 40 *parahs*, weighing 298 grains; a *yarimlik* or demi-piastre, of 20 *parahs*, weighing 164½ grains; an *onbeshlik* of 15 *parahs*, weighing

SILVER, An. 1115. 99½ grains; another, much worn and weighing only 89 grains, coined at تونس *Tunis* in the year 1141; with several other pieces supposed to be *onbeshliks* also, weighing from 84½ to about 80 grains, and coined at *Irwân*, or *Erivan*,(1) *Teflîs*, *Kanjah*, and *Tabrîz*, cities of Georgia and Armenia, alternately in subjection to the Turks and Persians. Then follow specimens of the *onlik* or quarter-piastre of 10 *parahs*, weighing 51½ and 46½ grains; of the *beshlik* or 5 *parah* piece, weighing 36 grains; and of single *parahs* (if some of them be not rather 1½) weighing from 10 to 7½ grains, on many of which the date is accompanied by a letter of the alphabet, particularly ب, د, ر, و, and ي. There are also smaller pieces, of perfect workmanship, weighing from 7 to 5½ grains, that may be *îkîliks* of 2 aspres; others, with full inscriptions and without the *toghra*, weighing 4½ grains, that must be half-*parahs;* and single aspres or *akcheh* (three of which go to the *parah*) that weigh only from 3 to 2½ grains, but have their inscriptions complete. Besides these there are some copper pieces of rude workmanship (*mangûr*, *felûs*, or oboli, having the *toghra* on one side, and on the other, the words ضرب في مصر ١١١٥ 'cuditur in *Misr* 1115.'

With respect to the accuracy of the foregoing, it must be observed that the name of the species of money is not denoted on the Turkish, as on the more simple coinage of the khalifs, and owing to the diminution of weight that was introduced from time to time, and even in the course of the same reign, it becomes difficult, in many instances, to distinguish one denomination from another, although some assistance is afforded by the appearance.

We have the uniform evidence of the date on the coins of this sultan, for the year 1115 of the *hejrah* being considered as the first of his reign; yet the historians agree in placing the accession of *Ahmed* III., which immediately followed the compulsory abdication of his brother *Mustafa* II., in 1114, which Mahometan year began in May 1702.

(1) T. C. Tychsen describes a coin of *Mustafa* IV. of the year ١١٧٧ (1763), as being struck at وان *Wân* or *Vân* of Armenia. Possibly this, which I read ايروان *Irwân* of *Adherbîjan*, may be the same, the first characters being indistinct; but I have little doubt of the و *w* being preceded by ر *r*.

CCCCLXIII.—CCCCLXVIII.

محمود بن مصطفي *MAHMÛD BEN MUSTAFA,*

Twenty-fourth sultan.

GOLD, An. 1143.

I. AREA. *Toghra.* محمود بن مصطفي خان . عب
Mahmúd ben Mustafa khán.

II. AREA. ضرب في اسلامبول ١١٤٣
Cuditur in *Islámbúl* 1143 (1730). ($80\frac{1}{4}$ gr.)

I. AREA. *Toghra.*

II. AREA. ضرب في اسلامبول ١١٤٣ . م
Cuditur in *Islámbúl* 1143. (67 . 67 gr.)

II. AREA. ضرب في مصر سنه ١١٤٣ . ص
Cuditur in *Misr*, anno 1143. (53 gr.)

I. AREA. *Toghra.* عزنصره ضرب في مصر سنه ١١٤٣

II. AREA. سلطان البرين و خاقان البحرين &c. ع . عن
Sultanus et imperator duarum continentium &c. ($40\frac{1}{4}$. 39 gr.)

I. and II. AREAS. *Toghra.* ضرب في اسلامبول ١١٤٣
Cuditur in *Islámbúl* 1143. (27 gr.)

I. AREA. *Toghra.* عزنصره ضرب في اسلامبول ١١٤٣
Manifestum sit &c. Cuditur in *Islámbúl* 1143.

II. AREA. Sultanus duarum contin. &c. سلطان البرين ($19\frac{3}{4}$ gr.)

The large and fair gold coin, that stands first in the series of *Mahmúd's* reign, appears from its weight of $80\frac{1}{4}$ grains (equal to $1\frac{1}{2}$ *fundúk*) to be a double *zermahbúb*, a denomination first introduced by him, if not by his predecessor. The next two, bearing similar inscriptions, although differing considerably in the style of engraving, are both of the anomalous weight

Gold, An. 1143. weight of 67 grains or $1\frac{1}{4}$ *fundúk.* * Those which follow, weighing 53 grains, are evidently what are termed *fundúk toghrali.* One of them is from the mint of Constantinople; the other from that of Cairo, having before the date the word سنه, which the coinage of the capital wants. The next, weighing $40\frac{1}{2}$ and 39 grains, are *zermahbúbs* of Cairo, and are remarkable in this respect, that the one which has by much the larger surface is the lighter in weight. They contain the full, pompous inscription, and are the earliest specimens of that coin in its single state, by which the *fundúk* was in great measure superseded. The next is a half *fundúk-toghrâli* or demi-sequin, of $26\frac{1}{2}$ grains; and the last of the series, which weighs barely 20 grains, must be considered as a *nisfîah* or half-*zermahbúb.*

It should be noticed that *Mahmúd,* the first Ottoman sultan of the name, is by some writers vulgarly and ignorantly styled *Mahomet* or *Muhammed* V., the two names, whatever may be the European orthography, being entirely different, although derived from the same radical word.

CCCCLXIX. CCCCLXX.

محمود بن مصطفي *MAHMÛD BEN MUSTAFA.*

Gold, An. 1147.

I. and II. Areas. سلطان محمود خان عزنصره و ايده
ضرب في جزاير ١١٤٧

Sultanus *Mahmúd khân,* "cujus victoria insignis sit, et firmam eam reddat" (Deus)! Cuditur in *Jezâir* (Algeriæ) 1147 (1734). ($26\frac{1}{4}$ gr.)

I. Area. Sultanus *Mahmúd.* سلطان محمود

II. Area. ضرب في جزاير ١١٥٨

Cuditur in *Jezâir* 1158 (1745). 1166 (1752). (13 gr.)

It

It may be thought an unjustifiable arrangement to place coins of the Barbary states in the Ottoman series, but as they contain the name of the Turkish sultan, to whom Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers profess allegiance, and not that of any local prince, it is the only one that can consistently be adopted. The first of these is a half-*fundúk* from the mint of Algiers, in the inscription of which the name and title of the sovereign are given with the utmost brevity, even the patronymic being omitted. In respect to the mode of dating there is a departure from the imperial coinage, the year of the *hejrah* only, and not that of the accession, being expressed. The precise import of the word ايده, in the optative or precatory form, not being clear to me, I have availed myself of the interpretation of the sentence given by Adler, Introd. p. 184. Two smaller gold coins, weighing 13 grains each, and consequently *rebîàs* or quarter-*fundúks*, bear the dates of 1158 and 1166. GOLD, An. 1147.

CCCCLXXI.—CCCCLXXVII.

محمود بن مصطفي *MAHMÚD BEN MUSTAFA.*

I. AREA. *Toghra.* ضرب في قسطنطنيه ١١٤٣ SILVER, An. 1143.
Cuditur Constantinopolis 1143.

II. AREA. سلطان البرين و خاقان &c. عا . و
Sultanus duarum continentium &c. (371 . 363 gr.)

I. AREA. *Toghra.* Cuditur Constantinopolis 1143. (186 . 180½ gr.)

I. AREA. *Toghra.* Cuditur Constantinopolis. (145½ gr.)

I. AREA. *Toghra.* Cuditur Constantinopolis. (87 gr.)
Do. Do. *Teflís* (83½ gr.)

I. AREA. *Toghra.* Cuditur Constantinopolis. (49 . 38½ gr.)
Do. Do. *Khaniah.* (42 gr.)

I. AREA.

Silver, An. 1143.

I. Area. *Toghra.* Cuditur &c. (11 . 10 . $8\frac{1}{2}$. 8 . $7\frac{3}{4}$. $6\frac{1}{2}$ gr.)

I. Area. *Toghra.* Cuditur &c. (3 . $2\frac{3}{4}$. $2\frac{1}{2}$ gr.)

In the larger coinage of *Mahmûd* the proportion of base metal seems more than usually to exceed that of the silver, but the weight of the pieces respectively is greater. The piastres which in preceding reigns weighed about 300 grains, are here found to be 371 and 363, and the *yarimliks* or half piastres, 186 and 180. On the Reverses of these and others, containing the full inscription, we perceive the supernumerary characters ع, و, ص, and ع, which are probably mint-marks. The piece weighing $145\frac{1}{2}$ grains must, by analogy to the preceding, be considered as an *onbeshlik* of 15 *parahs*, and those of 87 and $83\frac{1}{2}$ grains (the latter a rude coin from the mint of *Tefflis*) as the *onlik* or *rebîa* of 10 *parahs*. Those of 49, $38\frac{1}{2}$, and 42 (the last from that of *Khanjah*) are the *beshlik* of 5 *parahs*. Those of 11 to about 7 grains are the *parah* of 3 aspres. One of $6\frac{1}{2}$ may be the *îkîlik* of 2 aspres, and the smallest pieces of 3 and $2\frac{1}{2}$ grains are the aspre or *akcheh*.

CCCCLXXVIII.—CCCCLXXX.

محمود بن مصطفي *MAHMÛD BEN MUSTAFA.*

Silver, base, An. 1150.

I. and II. Area. سلطان البرين و خاقان البحرين السلطان محمود بن مصطفي‌خان عزنصره ضرب في تونس ١١٥٠

Sultanus duarum continentium &c. sultanus *Mahmûd ben Mustafa khân.* Manifestum sit &c. Cuditur in *Túnis* 1150 (1737). ($91\frac{3}{4}$. $78\frac{1}{2}$ gr.)

I. and II. Areas. سلطان محمود ضرب في تونس ١١٥٢

Sultanus *Mahmûd.* Cuditur in *Túnis* 1152 (1739). (17 gr.) 1163 (1749). ($14\frac{3}{4}$ gr.) 1166 (1752). ($16\frac{3}{4}$ gr.) 1167 (1753). ($19\frac{3}{4}$ gr.)

In

In the first two of these pretended silver coins, struck at Tunis nearly on the model of those from the mint of Constantinople, the titles of the sultan are given at full length. Their weight would shew them to be *onbeshliks*, if in fact the Turkish denominations of money are attended to on that coast. The smaller coins seem to be pieces of three *parahs*, or the fifth part of the *onbeshlik*. SILVER, base, An. 1150.

CCCCLXXXI.—CCCCLXXXIII.

عثمان بن مصطفي *OTHMÁN* III. *BEN MUSTAFA*,

Twenty-fifth sultan.

I. AREA. *Toghra.* عثمان بن مصطفي خان ط GOLD, An. 1168.
Othmán s. *Osmán ben Mustafa khán.*

II. AREA. ضرب في اسلامبول ١١٦٨
Cuditur in *Islámbúl* 1168 (1754). (80½ gr.)

I. AREA. *Toghra. Othmán* &c. عثمان بن مصطفي خان
عزنصره ضرب في مصر سنه ١١٦٨
Manifestum sit &c. Cuditur in *Misr*, anno 1168. (82 gr.)

II. AREA. Sultanus duarum continentium &c.

I. AREA. *Toghra.* عزنصره ضرب في مصر سنه ١١٦٨
Manifestum sit &c. Cuditur in *Misr*, anno 1168. (38½ gr.)

The first of the gold coins of *Othmán* or *Osmán* III. is a double *toghrâli zermahbúb* of the Constantinopolitan mint, and handsomely executed. The appearance of the second, coined in Egypt, is peculiar, in having a plain flat rim or broad margin round the circular Area. The inscription is the usual one of the single *zermahbúb*. It is heavier by 1½ grains than the former piece, but upon making deduction for a small attached bit of

GOLD, An. 1168. gold for the purpose of appending it, the weight would be nearly the same. The third and fourth coins are a *zermahbúb*, of Cairo also, rendered lighter than the common standard by having two holes pierced through it, and a half *zermahbúb* of the same place. On this last as well as the second, we distinguish, in the inscription of the Reverse, the supernumerary letter ص, and on the third coin a س.

Besides the foregoing there is a half-*fundúk*, of 26½ grains, struck at جزاير *Jezáir* or Algiers, resembling that which has been described, with the difference only of the name of *Othmán*, and the date of ١١٧٠ or 1170 (1756).

The nominal silver coins of this reign are a piastre of 365 grains, an *onbeshlik* of 83½, a *beshlik* or 5 *parah* piece of 42½, a *parah* of 9, and an aspre or *akcheh* of 2 grains; all struck at Constantinople, and presenting nothing peculiar excepting the supernumerary characters ب on the first, ح on the second and third, and ص on the fourth.

CCCCLXXXIV.—CCCCXCI.

مصطفي بن احمد *MUSTAFA* III. *BEN AHMED*,

Twenty-fifth sultan.

GOLD, An. 1171.

I. AREA. *Toghra. Mustafa ben Ahmed.* مصطفي بن احمد

II. AREA. ضرب في اسلامبول ١١٧١

Cuditur in *Islámbúl* 1171 (1757). (54½ gr.)

I. AREA. سلطان مصطفي بن احمد خان عزنصره
ضرب في طرابلس غرب ١١٧١

Sultanus *Mustafa ben Ahmed khán.* Manifestum ei sit &c. Cuditur in Trâbolus occidentale (Tripoli Africæ) 1171.

II. AREA. ضارب النصر صاحب العز والظفر في البر والبحر

Cudens aurum (victoriam) dominus potestatis et victoriæ super terram maremque. (51½ gr.)

I. AREA.

GOLD, An. 1171.

I. AREA. (As in the preceding.) ضرب في مصر سنه ١١٧١
Cuditur in *Misr*, anno 1171. (39¾ gr.)

I. AREA. *Toghra.* عزنصره ضرب في اسلامبول ١١٧١
Manifestum ei sit &c. Cuditur in *Islámbúl* 1171. (40½ gr.)

I. AREA. *Toghra.* Cuditur in *Misr* 1171. (40 gr.)

I. AREA. ضرب في تونس ١١٧١
Cuditur in *Túnis* 1171. (39 gr.)

I. AREA. *Toghra.* ضرب في اسلامبول ١١٧١
Cuditur in *Islámbúl* 1171. (27 gr.)

II. AREA. ضرب في تونس ١١٨٥
Cuditur in *Túnis* 1185 (1771). (20 gr.)

The first of these gold coins is a *toghrâli-fundûk*, exceeding the weight of the sequin by half a grain, and is the more worthy of notice because this sultan, who was attentive to the coinage, is said to have withdrawn all the *fundûks* from circulation, in order to convert them into *zermahbûbs*, and to make the latter generally current. This took place in 1173–1769, two years after his accession.

The second is a *fundûk* of Tripoli in Africa, inferior to the other in weight, and still more in point of execution. Its inscription preserves the style that prevailed in the earlier times of the empire, and the date has no relation to the commencement of the sultan's reign, which serves to shew that the political dependence of this state was little more than nominal. What may be considered as a *tamgha* or device is remarkable, as exhibiting the first (perhaps the only) representation on the coinage, of the Turkish crescent, which is here surrounded with a circle. This provincial coin is by some denominated زنجيرلو *zinjírli* or *zinjírlu*, from زنجير *zinjír* a chain, on account of its being suspended (although not peculiarly) about the neck, as an ornament.

The next coin is a *zermahbûb* of Egypt, with a metaphoric inscription; similar to that of the preceding *fundûk* of Tripoli, and the next a *zer-*

GOLD, An. 1171. *mahbûb* of Constantinople, with the common full legend. In the place of what have been termed supernumerary characters, we here perceive the numeral figure ٧, which might be understood to denote the seventh year of the reign, but in which we shall not be borne out by subsequent specimens. The form of the letters departs from the precision and regular proportions of the pure *nishki*. A *zermahbûb* of the mint of Cairo exhibits a similar deviation, whilst another of *Tunis* (both with the full inscription) preserves the earlier style. The next is a half *toghrâli-fundûk* of 27 grains, and the last of the series a half-*zermahbûb*, of 20 grains, coined likewise at *Tunis*. In this the title of *Khâkân* is omitted.

The first piece in the silver coinage of this reign weighs 445 grains, and seems to be rather an *îkîlik* of two piastres or 80 *parahs*, than an *altmishlik* or double *zolotah*, of 60 *parahs*. On the Reverse is the numeral ٨ 8. Then follow: two *toghrâli*-piastres, weighing respectively 293 grains, with the numerals ٨٢ 82, and 306 grains, with the numerals ٨٣ 83; and two coins of 213 and 229 grains, that I suppose to be also piastres or *ghrôsh* of 40 *parahs*, which have the numerals ٨٦ 86 and ٨٧ 87; all coined in *Islâmbûl*. As the reign of *Mustafa* commenced in 1171 and closed in the latter part of 1187 (January 1774) it becomes a plausible conjecture that these numbers which appear to have puzzled some of my predecessors,(1) may in fact be contractions of the current year of the *hejrah* in which the pieces were actually struck; the Ottoman sovereigns having at length become sensible of the imperfection of their former practice, which ascribed all the coinage to the year of the accession. The decimal and unit only are expressed, because in those only a progressive change was necessary; and if it be asked why in the instance of

(1) "Hoc unum addo, says T. C. Tychsen, occurrere in numis Turcicis, tam aureis quam argenteis, præter anni notam, numerum aliquem dubiæ significationis..... Ad annum regni hoc non referri, quod suspicetur aliquis, facile patet; quid tamen hoc signo indicetur, malo a peritioribus doceri, quam inanes conjecturas adferre." De num. orient. Comm. III. p. 25. O. G. Tychsen, speaking of the same mysterious numbers, says: "Quæ quum annum imperii haud indigitent, quid proprie indicent, me prorsùs latet." But he afterwards ventures on a conjecture, more specious than satisfactory: "Hinc pronus sum ad statuendum, quod duplicatæ cifræ in his numis arithmetice addenda annum imperii omnino indicare queant, v. c. 8 et 7 efficiunt 15, et sic in reliquis." Introd. in rem num., p. 182, 183.

of the first of these pieces, the unit alone appears, the answer is obvious, that in the change from 1171 to 1178 all the figures excepting the units remained the same; whereas in denoting 1182, an alteration of the decimal also was required. At a subsequent period, however, it became the practice to mark the progressive years of the reign instead of those of the era. GOLD, An. 1171.

Of this sultan we have also a *yârimlik* or half-piastre of the *toghrâli* kind, much worn, of 142½ grains, and marked with the numeral ٤ 4; an *onbeshlik* of 15 *parahs*, with full inscriptions, of 103½ grains, and marked with ٢ 2; an *onlik-toghrâli* of 10 *parahs*, weighing 65 grains, and marked ٨١ 81; another from the mint of جزاير *Jezâir* or Algiers, weighing only 53 grains, with a *beshlik* of the same place weighing 26½; a *beshlik* of 37½ grains marked ١ (1171); a two-*parah* piece, of 16 grains, struck at *Tunis* in the year 1173; with several *parahs* of from 7 to 6 grains; *îkîliks* or two-aspre pieces, of 4 grains, and single aspres, of neat execution, weighing from 2½ to 2 grains, all of them lighter in proportion than those of the preceding reign. In addition to these there is a small copper coin from the mint of *Tunis*, dated 1186, with another from that of *Baghdâd*, having the *toghra* of *Mustafa*, but without legible date.

CCCCXCII.

مصطفي بن احمد *MUSTAFA BEN AHMED*,

I. AREA. *Toghra.* مصطفي بن احمد خان

II. AREA. ٨٥ ضرب في مصر سنه ١١٨٣ SILVER, base, An. 1183.

85. Cuditur in *Misr*, anno 1183 (1769). (235 . 105 gr.)

This piastre and half piastre of base metal and bad workmanship, have no other claim to particular notice than that of their having been struck under the government of the celebrated Mamluk chief named *Ali-beg*,

Silver, base, An. 1183.

beg,(1) who about the year 1182–1768 rendered himself independent in Egypt, refused the customary tribute to the Porte, and coined money: not, however, as appears from these specimens, in his own name, but in that of *Mustafa*, the reigning Ottoman sultan.(2) His downfall and death took place in 1187–1773.

With respect to the number 85 which appears on the same face of the coin with the date of 1183, I confess myself entirely at a loss, as it cannot in this instance have any relation to the years of the *hejrah*, nor does even the fanciful sum of the two figures, as suggested by Tychsen, give exactly the year of the reign, although the approach to it is very near.

CCCCXCIII.—DI.

عبدالحميد بن احمد *ABD AL-HAMÎD BEN AHMED,*

Twenty-seventh sultan.

Gold, An. 1187.

I. Area. *Toghra.*

II. Area. ضرب في اسلامبول ١١٨٧ ١

Cuditur in *Islâmbúl* 1187 (1774). 1. (80½ gr.)

I. Area. السلطان عبد الحميد ابن احمد خان عزنصره

ضرب في مصر سنه ١١٨٧

Sultanus *Abd al-hamíd ibn Ahmed khán.* Manifestum sit &c. Cuditur in *Misr*, anno 1187.

II. Area. ٢ (2). (40 gr.)

I. Area.

(1) "Lors de sa ruine, says Volney, ses piastres perdirent vingt pour cent, parce qu'on prétendit qu'elles étaient surchargées d'alliage. Un négociant en fit passer 10,000 à Marseille, et elles rendirent *à la fonte* un bénéfice assez considerable." Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte, t. i. p. 105. If this anecdote be correct their appearance much belies them, and the fact of their yielding a profit *à la fonte* would be extraordinary even of the best piastres of Constantinople. According to Bonneville's assay, the proportion of *matière fine* to the gross weight of those of *Mustafa* III. is as 10.421 to 19.121.

(2) "La suzeraineté de Constantinople *offensa son orgueil*, et il n'aspira pas moins qu'au titre de *sultan* d'Egypte." (Where does this appear?) "Toutes ses démarches furent relatives à ce but: il chassa le pacha, qui n'était plus qu'un être de représentation; il refusa le tribut accoutumé; enfin, en 1768, il battit monnaie *à son propre coin*." Ibid.

GOLD, An. 1187.

I. AREA. *Toghra.* ١١٨٧ عزنصرهٗ ضرب في اسلامبول

Manifestum sit &c. Cuditur in *Islâmbúl* 1187.

II. AREA. ٨ (8). ٩ (9). ١٥ (15). (40½ . 40½ . 40 gr.)

I. AREA. ١١٨٧ ضرب في مصر سنة &c. السلطان عبدالحميد

Sultanus *Abd-al-hamíd* &c. Cuditur in *Misr*, anno 1187.

II. AREA. ٢ (2). (20½ gr.)

I. AREA. *Toghra.*

II. AREA. ١ ١١٨٧ ضرب في اسلامبول

Cuditur in *Islámbúl* 1187. 1. (13½ gr.)

I. AREA. *Toghra.* ٧ ١١٨٧ ضرب في طرابلس غرب

Cuditur in *Trábolus* Africæ 1187. (39¼ gr.)

II. AREA. ١١٨٨ ضرب في تونس

Cuditur in *Tunis* 1188. (20 . 19¾ gr.)

II. AREA. ١١٩٢ السلطان عبدالحميد خان عزنصره ضرب في جزاير

Sultanus *Abd-al-hamíd khán.* Manifestum ei sit &c. Cuditur in *Jezáir* (Algeriæ) 1192. (54 gr.)

II. AREA. ١١٩٤ ضرب في جزاير

Cuditur in *Jezáir* (Algeriæ) 1194 (1780). (13 gr.)

A double *toghráli-zermahbúb* of *Abd-al-hamíd* (erroneously styled *Ahmed* or *Achmet* IV.), from the mint of Egypt, is remarkably handsome, the inscription being surrounded by several concentric circles elegantly diversified. Its distinctive numeral is ١, which from analogy to the practice of the last reign might be supposed to denote the year 1201 of the *hejrah*, but a disposition to make improvements or innovations in the system of coinage appears to have prevailed at this period, and there is reason to conclude that *Abd-al-hamíd* introduced the mode of ascertaining the actual date of his coins by marking on them the progressive years from the accession; in confirmation of which we shall perceive

Gold, An. 1187. ceive that the highest numerals (15) do not exceed those of his reign, which began in the latter part of 1187 (January 1774) and terminated in the middle of 1203 (April 1789); whereas on the money of his predecessor the numerals run as high as 87, although he reigned only 16 years. There are also from the mint of Constantinople several *zermahbûbs*, a half do., and a neat *rebîà* or quarter *fundûk* of 13½ grains.(1) From those of his nominal dominions on the coast of Africa there are: a *zermahbûb* of Tripoli weighing 39½ grains, with the date of 1187, and numeral 7 for the year of the reign; two half do. of Tunis, well executed, dated 1188 and 1189, and weighing 20 grains; a *fundûk* of Algiers, of 54 grains, with the date of 1192; and a quarter do. of the same regency, of the year 1194 (1780), weighing 13 grains.

Of his silver money there are: an *altmishlik* of 412 grains, with the numeral 1; a *ghrosh* of 285½, another of 293, and a third of 247, with 1, 3, and 2; one of 284 grains, very base, coined at Tripoli of Africa in the year 1187; three *zolotahs* from 225½ to 215 grains, and a *yârimlik* of 142 grains, with 1 and 2; three *onliks* of 69½, 69, and 66 grains, with 9, 6, and 2; an *onlik* of 67½, and a *beshlik* of 33½ grains, coined at *Baghdâd* in the ninth year of the reign, but rudely executed, and in appearance unlike the general currency of the empire; an *onlik* of 52½ and a *beshlik* of 26¼ grains, coined at *Jezâir* or Algiers in 1196; three *beshliks* of 37 grains, with 9, 5, and 2; several *parahs* of 8 grains, with 1, 2, 6, 13; *îkîliks* or two-aspre pieces of 6 and 5½ grains, and a single aspre of 2 grains. All of these, not otherwise distinguished, are from the mint of Constantinople.

(1) M. Bonneville, quoting l'Almanach de Paris, says: "Sultan Abdoul-Hamet n'a point fait fabriquer de *foundoucs*, comme ses prédécesseurs, mais il a introduit dans la circulation les *roubbiés* qui en représentent la quatrième partie." Traité des Monnaies &c. p. 198.

DII.—DVII.

سليم بن مصطفي *SELÎM* III. *BEN MUSTAFA,*

Twenty-eighth sultan.

I. Area. *Toghra.* سليم بن مصطفي خان عزنصره ضرب في اسلامبول ١٢٠٣ — Gold, An. 1203.

Selím ben Mustafá khán. Manifestum &c. Cuditur in *Islámbúl* 1203 (1789).

II. Area. سلطان البرين &c. ١—١٢

Sultanus &c. 1 . 6 . 8 . 9 . 10 . 11 . 12 . (40—37 gr.)

I. Area. اسلطان سليم خان عزنصره ضرب في طرابلس غرب ١٢٠٣

Sultanus *Selím khán.* Manifestum &c. Cuditur in *Trábolus* Africæ 1203.

II. Area. سلطان البرين &c. ٥ . ٧

Sultanus continentium &c. 5 . 7 . ($52\frac{3}{4}$. $52\frac{1}{2}$ gr.)

I. Area. *Toghra.* ضرب في اسلامبول ١٢٠٣ ٥

Cuditur in *Islámbúl* 1203. 5 . ($18\frac{1}{2}$ gr.)

II. Area. Cuditur in *Islámbúl* 1203. 12 . ($9\frac{1}{4}$ gr.)

II. Area. Cuditur in *Islámbúl* 1203. 4 . ($13\frac{1}{4}$ gr.)

II. Area. Cuditur in *Islámbúl.* Margin. 1203. 2 . (53 gr.)

The gold coins of this enlightened and unfortunate sultan, who succeeded his uncle *Abd-al-hamíd* in 1203, and fell a victim to the insubordination of his household troops in 1222 (1807), are numerous. Of seven *zermahbúbs* marked progressively (but with some intervals) from the first to the twelfth year of his reign, the earliest weighs 40, and the last only 37 grains. The others are, two *fundúks* coined at Tripoli of Africa, and respectable in point of workmanship; a *nisfiah* or half *zermahbúb* of Constantinople; a half *nisfiah* (not a common division)

GOLD, An. 1203. vision) of the twelfth year, as the former is of the fifth; and two *rebâs* or quarter *fundûks* of the fourth year. Besides these there is a curious specimen of a *fundûk* coined by *Selîm* in the second year of his reign, upon a new pattern, and imitating in some degree the European style. It is encircled on each side with an ornamented border, within which, on the Reverse, the date of the accession is inserted.

His silver coinage, on the contrary, with little to recommend it in point of workmanship, seems to be still baser than that of his predecessors, and in each denomination is considerably lighter in weight; insomuch, indeed, that it is difficult to avoid confounding them, although assisted in the discrimination by the 'Traité des Monnaies' of M. Bonneville, who had assayed several of the pieces coined by *Mustafa*, *Abd-al-hamîd*, and *Selîm*.(1) The specimens of the last are here: a *yuzlik* of 100 *parahs*, weighing 500 grains, and consequently at the rate of 5 grains to the *parah*; an *îkîlik* of 80 parahs, weighing only 389 grains, and marked, as well as the former, with the second year; a piastre, of 192 grains, struck at Constantinople in the first year, and another of only 173 grains, struck at Cairo in the presence of Lord Valentia, who obligingly added it to the Collection;(2) an *onbeshlik* of 15 *parahs*, coined at Tripoli of Africa in the fourteenth year, and of full weight, being $115\frac{1}{2}$ grains; *beshliks* of 30 grains from the same mint, in rude characters, and with the precatory words دام ملكه 'perduret regnum suum;' two pieces from the same mint, of $23\frac{1}{2}$ and $15\frac{1}{2}$ grains, perhaps treble and

(1) In copying the following results of his examination (p. 203) I have reduced the French grains to our Troy weight, at the proportion of 54 to 65, or of 1 to $1\frac{11}{54}$. M. B. in his table annexed to the 'Monnaies d'Angleterre (p. 183) states it to be as 1 to $1\frac{126}{576}$; but as he represents the weight of the Venetian sequin, the Dutch ducat, and the perfect Turkish *fundûk* to be equal to 65 French grains, which I find to weigh exactly 54 grains Troy, I must consider this as a good practical criterion.

" *Mustapha* III. Gr.Fr. Gr.Tr.
Double iselotte (zolotah) de 1171 ....542=450
Grouch ou piastre de 40 parahs.....360=300

Abdoul-Hamid. Gr.Fr. Gr.Tr.
Grouch de 1187 .....360=300
Altmiche, ou pièce de 60 parahs.....504=420
Grouch .....351=292

Selim III.
Iuzlik, ou pataque de 100 paras de 1203 .....595=494
Ikilik de 80 parahs .....576=479
Ikilik .....496=412
Grouch de 40 parahs .....248=206
Yaremlik, ou demi-piastre de 20 parahs .....118= 98."

(2) In order to avoid the imputation of an anachronism I must observe, that although the piece

and double *parahs*, with a third of $3\frac{1}{4}$ grains, a half *parah*; a *beshlik* of Algiers of 26 grains, dated 1210, and lastly *onliks* of the second year, from the mint of the capital, weighing $51\frac{1}{2}$ grains, and neatly executed. GOLD, An. 1203.

DVIII. DIX.

مصطفي بن عبدالحميد *MUSTAFA* IV. *BEN ABD AL-HAMÎD*,

Twenty-ninth sultan.

I. AREA. *Toghra.* مصطفي بن عبدالحميد خان GOLD, An. 1222.

II. AREA. 1 ١٢٢٢ ضرب في قسطنطنيه

Cuditur Constantinopolis 1222 (1807). ($49\frac{3}{4}$ gr.)

I. AREA. *Toghra.* ١٢٢٢ ضرب في قسطنطنيه

II. AREA. Sultanus d. continentium &c. 1 &c. سلطان البرين

(37 gr.)

The gold coins of this sultan are: a *toghrâli-fundûk*; a *zermahbûb*, in later times more generally denominated a *stambûl*, and a half-*stambûl* of $18\frac{1}{2}$ grains. They are all neatly executed, and marked with the numeral 1 or first year.

The silver coins are: an *altmishlik* of 294 grains; a *ghrosh*(1) or piastre of 198 grains; an *onlik* of $50\frac{1}{2}$, and a *beshlik* of $22\frac{1}{2}$ grains; which last only was coined in the second year of the short and miserable reign of this pageant monarch.

piece was actually struck in the year 1806, when his Lordship (now Earl of Mountnorris) was in Egypt, the die made use of belonged to 1804, answering to 1219, or the sixteenth year of *Selîm's* reign.

(1) The learned Hyde supposes the Turkish '*ghrosh*' to be derived from the Italian word '*cruce*;' but its affinity to the German '*groschen*,' from the low Latin '*grossus*' thick, seems more plausible. The '*aspre*' is evidently the ἄσπρον of the modern Greeks, being '*white*' money, as distinguished from the copper.

DX.

محمود بن عبدالحميد *MAHMÛD* II. *BEN ABD AL-HAMÎD,*

Thirtieth sultan, now (1822) reigning.

GOLD, An. 1223.

I. AREA. *Toghra.* محمود بن عبد الحميد
ضرب في قسطنطنيه ١٢٢٣
Cuditur Constantinopolis 1223 (1808).

II. AREA. Sultanus continentium &c. 1 &c. سلطان البرين
(37 . 18½ gr.)

The specimens of gold coinage of this sultan, the younger brother of his unfortunate predecessor, consist only of a *stambûl* and half-*stambûl* of the first year, at the reduced weight that took place in the latter part of *Selîm's* reign.

The silver coins are: a large piece designed with good taste, of the third year, and weighing 412 grains, which, from analogy, and making allowance for the progressive rise in the nominal value, should be considered as a *yuzlik* of 100 *parahs* or two and a half piastres, but which (so uncertain are the denominations) was invoiced to me from Constantinople as a five piastre piece; a *ghrûsh* or piastre, of the first year, weighing 192 grains; an *onlik* of 41½ grains, and a *beshlik* of 27½ grains, marked respectively with the second and first year. Thus it will be seen that the *parah*, the standard of computation for Turkish silver money, which at an early period weighed 9 grains, should be calculated at little more than 4 grains in modern currency.

To increase the means of expenditure by depreciating or raising the nominal above the intrinsic value of the current money, is the expedient of a weak and despotic government, which does not perceive that the act of injustice and fraud practised on its subjects must recoil on itself, by diminishing in the same proportion the amount of its revenue, and producing the necessity for fresh imposts.

KHÂNS

KHÂNS OF *KRÎM*, OR THE CRIMEA.

LITTLE different from the Ottoman coinage is that of the *Krîm Tâtar khâns*,(1) a branch of the dynasty of *Kapchak*, and claiming descent from the house of *Jengîz*. These had long governed the Tauric Chersonese, under the influence of the Porte, when in the latter part of the last century they were destined to experience a change of protectors, and ultimately the entire loss of their hereditary dominions. The paucity of specimens of their money in the collection renders it unnecessary that their history should be traced back through more than a few reigns, and indeed it may be doubted, from the want of variety in other cabinets, whether the mint of the Crimea has not been an establishment of very modern date.

The injury sustained by her subjects from the incursions of these *Tâtars* induced the Russian empress Anne to declare war against the Ottoman emperor as their ostensible sovereign, and in the year 1736 sent an army into the peninsula, which it laid waste with fire and sword. In 1757 the reigning *khân*, named *Alîm Gerâi* or *Kerâi*, having by arbitrary and oppressive acts indisposed the minds of his subjects, and a revolt having openly broke out amongst the *Nogai* Tatars, who formed a considerable part of the population, advantage was taken of this state of circumstances by an active chief named *Krîm Gerâi*, who succeeded in raising himself to the throne, and afterwards displayed talents for government of a superior kind. In 1764 the Porte entertaining some suspicion of his fidelity deposed him, but in 1768 he was not only reinstated, but entrusted with the command of a large army, with which he penetrated

(1) I have elsewhere had occasion to justify the orthography of the European word 'Tartar,' as applied to those races generally that inhabit the northern and middle regions of Asia; but in speaking of a particular people amongst them, who are distinguished by their language and other circumstances from the *Moghuls* and *Manchûs*, though nearly allied to the tribes of *Turkistân*, it becomes proper to employ the Persian denomination of تاتر *Tâtar*.

trated into and ravaged the country of Servia; from which campaign, however, he did not return, having fallen a victim to poison, as was supposed, at Bender, in the year 1769.

In 1771 the Crimea was invaded by an army of the empress Catherine, and under her influence a youth named *Sâheb Gerâi* was chosen *khân;* who, with the concurrence of his subjects, renounced all further connexion with the Ottoman Porte; in return for which they were by her Imperial Majesty declared to be an independent nation, under her especial protection; yet shortly after, on the grounds of his having held correspondence with the Turkish sultan, she caused him to be removed, and his brother, *Daulat Gerâi,* to ascend the throne in his stead. Notwithstanding these strong measures a treaty was concluded in 1774 between Russia and the Porte, which stipulated anew for the political independence of the *Tâtars,* who were to enjoy the privilege of chusing their own *khân* from among the descendants of *Jengîz-khân,* but reserving to the sultan the supremacy in spiritual affairs, together with the right of having his name pronounced in the *khotba,* and inscribed on the coinage.(2) With the consent of both powers, *Sâheb Gerâi* was restored to the throne, but did not long enjoy his precarious honours, being driven from it by his own people, to whom his having consented to the occupation by the Russians of some important places had given offence, and obliged to fly to Constantinople. His brother, *Daulat Gerâi* was once more set up, and obtained investiture from the Porte. Russia, on the other hand, gave her assistance to an enterprising chief named *Shâhîn Gerâi,* the brother of *Krîm Gerâi,* who, at the head of the *Nogai* Tatars, attacked and defeated *Daulat;* and the Turks also, through the powerful exertions of the empress, were compelled to abandon his cause and to sanction the pretensions of *Shâhîn,* now her regular vassal, although the supremacy in religious matters was still reserved to the sultan, as representative of the ancient khalifs. Specimens of the money coined by this *khân* appear in the present, as well as in other collections. His predilection

(2) Whether this latter right, which is the strongest evidence of sovereignty, was exercised or not is uncertain. No coins of *Sâheb Gerâi* have, to my knowledge, been discovered, nor, on the other hand, any Ottoman coin struck in the Crimea about this period.

predilection for the manners of the Christians, and particularly his attempt to discipline his armies on the European principle, raised a strong party against him in his own family, and the country was in a state of revolution. Both the Porte and Russia again interfered, but with unequal weight. The latter having defeated the insurgent party near the capital city of *Bâghjih-sarâi*, and also a chief named *Selîm-khân*, to whom the Turks had given their support, replaced *Shâhîn* at the head of the government, but took possession, on her own account, of the important city of *Kaffa*, and some years afterwards, in consequence of further disturbances and revolts, both in the peninsula and the neighbouring provinces, resolved upon the entire occupation of the Crimea and the Kuban; which important measure was carried into effect in the early part of the year 1783. *Shahîn Gerâi* renounced the throne soon after, and yielded up his country in full dominion to the empress Catherine: an arrangement that was confirmed in the month of June of the same year by the treaty of Constantinople. "Thus (says the author of 'Voyage en Crimée,' from whose work, and indirectly from De Tott and Peyssonel, these historical remarks have been abstracted) disappeared the last remains of the empire of the Moghuls, the most extensive and the most powerful that ever existed in the world."

DXI.

خان قريم كراي *KHÂN KERÎM GERÂI.*

I. AREA. خان قريم كراي بن دولت كراي خان — SILVER, An. 1172.

Khân Kerîm Gerâi s. *Kerâi ben Daulat Gerâi khân*

II. AREA. ضرب في باغجه سراي ١١٧٢

Cuditur in *Bâghjih-sarâi* 1172 (1758). (15½ gr.)

The

SILVER, An. 1172.

The surname borne by all the princes of this dynasty from the year 845–1441, when they separated themselves from the *khâns* of *Kapchak* and established a dominion in the Crimea, appears on the coinage as written كراي *Kerâi*, without any distinguishing mark to denote the pronunciation of گراي *Gerâi* (with the hard *g*). Yet as De Tott and other travellers who had ample opportunity of knowing how the word was sounded by the natives, write it *Guerai* (according to the French orthography), we must infer that *G* and not *K* should be used as the initial letter. A similar observation will apply to the name of the city, which appears to be *Bâghjih-sarâi*, with ج *j* in the second syllable, but to which some have given the pronunciation of *Bâghchih-sarâi*, as if written with چ *ch*, or the French *tch*.

The workmanship of this small silver coin is rude, and of the date only the tops of the figures can be distinguished. From its weight it must be what is termed an ايكي پاره *ikí* (double) *parah*; and here it may be observed that the several denominations of silver money (none of gold have any where occurred) are expressed by prefixing the numeral word that denotes the number of *parahs* of which they respectively consist. So also the copper pieces are either multiples or fractional parts of the same copper coin.

At the top of Area II. there appears a mark of a peculiar form, found also on the coins of subsequent reigns, which from analogy to those of other Tartar dynasties, must be the *tamgha* or royal device.

Of two more specimens that seem to be also double *parahs*, but much defaced, one that weighs only 12 grains, has the date of 1172. The other, weighing 17 grains, has lost the date, but presents the name of *Khân Daulat*, and probably belongs to a period several years later, when, as we have seen, a prince so called was repeatedly set up and deposed by the contending factions.

DXII.—DXIV.

شاهين كراي بن احمد *SHÂHÎN GERÂI BEN AHMED.*

SILVER, An. 1191.

I. AREA. *Toghra.* خان شاهين كراي بن احمد
Khán Shâhín Gerâi ben Ahmed.

II. AREA. ضرب في باغجه سراي سنه ۱۱۹۱ ۴
Cuditur in *Bâghjih-sarâi*, anno 1191 (1777). 4. (237 gr.)

I. AREA. خان شاهين كراي بن احمد كراي سلطان
Khán Shâhín Gerâi ben Ahmed Gerâi sultán.

II. AREA. ضرب في باغجه سراي سنه ۱۱۹۱
Cuditur in *Bâghjih-sarâi*, anno 1191. (49 . 21½ . 9 gr.)

The first of these well-executed silver coins is an exact imitation of the *toghrâli-ghrosh* or piastre of Constantinople, with the difference only of being milled in the manner of the Spanish dollars; yet no allusion is made to any paramount authority of the Porte, and *Shâhín Gerâi* was in fact the creature of Russia.(1) The numeral 4 may be presumed to denote the fourth year of his dependent reign, which began in 1191–1777 and terminated in 1198–1783.

The second and third (small coins) on which the *khán's* titles are inscribed at length, and not in the complexity of the *toghra*, with the addition of that of *sultán* applied to his deceased father, is pro[illegible] a پش پاره *pesh* (five) *parah* piece, of nearly 10 grains to the *parah*: [illegible]llness of weight that is consistent with the double *parah* of 21½ and single of 9 grains, bearing the same date and nearly similar inscriptions.

(1) The observation made by M. Langlès that this *khán* was the first who coined money in his own name, is contradicted by the coins of *Krîm Gerâi* that have been described: "Jusqu'au moment de son avénement au trône (says this writer) toutes les monnaies en circulation dans la Crimée avaient porté le nom de l'empereur Ottoman, et été fabriquées, je crois, en Turquie. Châhyn-Guérâï voulut qu'elles fussent frappées à son coin. Cette opération, qui coûta de très-fortes sommes, fut confiée à un artiste Allemand, fort intelligent, si l'on en juge par l'exécution des pièces que nous avons sous les yeux. Les caractères en sont supérieurement dessinés et gravés avec une grande pureté, comme peuvent s'en convaincre toutes les personnes versées dans les langues orientales." Voyage en Crimée, p. 218. Note sur les Monnaies, par M. L. The engravings to which he refers are indeed admirably executed.

DXV.

شاهين كراي SHAHÎN GERÂI.

COPPER, An. 1191.

I. AREA. خان شاهين كراي بن احمد كراي سلطان ا
Khân Shâhîn Gerâi ben Ahmed Gerâi sulṭân. 1

II. AREA. As on the preceding silver coins. 1191 (1777).
2 oz. 1 dw. 15 gr. or 999 gr.)

In this copper piece there is nothing remarkable but its uncommon size, in respect to which the Russian mint seems to have been the object of imitation, as the Turkish was for the silver coinage. In point of weight it may be compared with one of the largest multiples of the *kopek*.

From finding the numerals 1 and 4 upon different coins of the same prince, who was only six years on the throne, we learn that the progression was noted in the years of the reign (according to the Turkish mode) and not in those of the Mahometan era, which refer only to the accession.(1)

(1) To what has been said in p. 12, and again in p. 46, on the subject of *Afrikiah*, as a province in the eastern part of the country which we term Barbary, I am induced to add (in consequence of a friendly remark), that the name appears to have been also applied by some writers, to its capital city, better known by that of *Kairawân* This was founded at the year 50 of the *hejrah* (33 leagues from Carthage or Tunis and 12 from the sea) by *Akbah* or *Okbah*, the commander of an army sent by the khalif *Muawiah* to extend the conquests of the Faithful in that part of the world. It is to be observed at the same time, that although *Yakûti*, who wrote in the early part of the 15th century, speaks of *Afrikiah* as a great *city* of *Meghreb*, his predecessors *Ibn Haukal*, *Abu'lfaraj*, and *Abu'lfeda* mention the name as that of a *province* only; and Golius, in his 'Notæ in Alferganum,' as well as other learned moderns, consider it to be equivalent to what is termed *Africa proper*.

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